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## THE MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY.

A MEETING of the Court of Governors of the University of Manchester was held on Wednesday, the 19th of May, which was presided over by Professor W. J. Pugh, senior Pro-Vice-Chancellor, in the absence of Sir John Stopford, when the following letter from Sir John was read to the Court :

> I am much better and should have been at work before this except for the autocratic action of two distinguished doctors, who have me at their mercy. While appreciating tremendously their skill and kindness, I cannot escape the feeling that they might pay more attention to my proposal that a little work would now accelerate progress and be helpful.

Professor Pugh having announced that the Registrar of the University, Dr. Norman Smith, was also ill but making progress in a nursing home, it was agreed, at the suggestion of Sir Christopher Needham, that messages of sympathy and affection should be sent to the two invalids. This message was enforced later by one sent from the congregation at the Founders' Day degree ceremony which followed.

At the same meeting Sir Ernest Simon, as Chairman of the Council, announced that the Council has appointed a strong committee of industrialists and professors of science to investigate the problem of what will be " the ideal relations of the universities and industry, under the conditions that are likely to arise in this country after the war."

From his recent experience during a visit to the United States, Sir Ernest addressed the Court, at some length, on the unfavourable comparison between university facilities and scientific and industrial research work in this country, and the provisions for similar ends in the United States.

"Nobody doubts," said Sir Ernest, "that the best of our university departments of science and the best of our industrial research organisations are qualitatively as good as any in the world; but they are too small and too few to enable us to develop new industries on a scale comparable with the Americans. It is recognised that we shall require a greatly increased export trade after the war and that this is likely to have to be created against heavy tariff barriers. In order to secure exports adequate to maintain a rising standard of living it is essential that our industries should be supported by the highest quality of research and scientific development.

"The aim should be something like three times the present volume of research, and that would mean three times the present expenditure. It was to be hoped, therefore, that after the war British industry would make research grants to the universities on a greatly increased scale, comparable with what was done in the United States, and that private gifts and bequests would be expanded. But the main increase in funds could only come from the Government. If the total annual amount were trebled it would still not represent what is now being spent on one day of war."

Sir Ernest made other comparisons between the work Manchester University has the means to do in the centre of industrial South-east Lancashire and that done by Chicago and Illinois Universities—and the kind and volume of support they respectively receive. There followed the announcement that the committee of experts has been set up, on which he further said: "We hope in due course to publish a report which will indicate how our scientific teaching and research should be expanded and how our relations with industry should be developed in order that we may carry out our duties in this matter at least as well as the best universities in the United States, Germany, or Russia."

HONORARY DEGREES.

There was a distinguished congregation in the Whitworth Hall for the conferment of honorary degrees in commemoration of Founders' Day, an occasion which was made specially notable by what was said by the Warden of All Souls, about the development of the social services.

The honorary graduands were presented by Professor T. W. Manson, in his usual felicitous manner, to Professor W. J. Pugh, the senior Pro-Vice-Chancellor, by whom the degrees were conferred.

DR. WILLIAM GEORGE STEWART ADAMS (LL.D.).—I present to you compendiously in one person the scholar, the administrator, and the practical man, whose star-hitched wagon has not disdained to travel the roads and carry the burdens of ordinary people. He has not only professed political theory in Oxford, he has also practised it amid the intricacies of Irish finance, the age-old traditions of Irish agriculture, and the hasty improvisations of a war-time Ministry of Munitions. He was, during the latter part of the last war, caretaker of a small but exceedingly active volcano, being secretary to the then Prime Minister. In his spare time he founded and edited the "Political Quarterly," took part in an examination of examinations for the Civil Service, was a member of the Royal Commission of Oxford and Cambridge, the Chairman of the National Council of Social Service, and does other light work. But agriculture is never far away. The scholar not only reads his "Georgics," he lives them. And many Oxonians can recall the golden age when he made Boar's Hill live up to the name, and the lyric raptures of the Laureate of the day were matched by the *basso ostinato* of the Gladstone Professor's herd of Black Berkshire pigs.

In a rich and varied career he has been quick to see where good work might be done to good purpose. Hence, perhaps, his early association with this University and with the extra-mural work. Hence, too, the added warmth with which to-day we welcome him back to receive the degree of Doctor of Laws, *honoris causa*.

JUDGE THOMAS BOWES LEIGH (LL.D.).—I present to you one of the veterans of our student body, one entitled to bear the ancient and honourable designation of "Associate of Owens College," one whose first degree—of Bachelor of Science—goes back in our records to the year 1885.

From Science he turned to Law, the Middle Temple and the Northern Circuit. Yet Science was not deserted. The interest remained and later played its part in the foundation of

the Manchester and District Medico-Legal Society, of which he was the first President. Nor did his association with Owens College end with his first degree. Forty years later, after being Recorder of Burnley, he became County Court Judge in this city with his court in the Old Owens College. Here he administered justice and dispensed mercy for seventeen years, years during which his person was happily free from the vengeful attentions of disappointed suitors and his judgments from the corrective castigations of superior tribunals.

Off the Bench he has a long record of honourable activity in many good causes, among which the Sunday School movement occupies a very large, though by no means the only, place. His character and his career have brought immense credit to the University, a fact which the University gladly acknowledges to-day by the conferment upon him of the degree of Doctor of Laws, *honoris causa*.

Dr. James Barlow Macalpine (D.Sc.).—I present to you a surgeon of international fame, whose skill in operating is excelled only by his near approach to infallibility in diagnosis. A Lancastrian born, his native genius was fortified by the training of our Medical School. Since he graduated his record is one of steadily accumulating triumphs over disease, and steadily mounting reputation. His published contributions to his own branch of medical science are everywhere recognised as work of outstanding quality, while in the Salford Royal Infirmary he has built up a clinic which excites the admiration of his professional colleagues and is the fount of inspiration to younger surgeons. He is an enthusiastic patron of what may perhaps be called scientific art, and has made a superb collection of the wonders of nature as seen through the cystoscope—mostly in glorious technicolour.

The University is proud to honour another of her distinguished sons, confident that he has even greater work still to do in the healing of those who are laid prostrate by pain and weakness, and in the advancement of medical science, by the conferment of the degree of Doctor of Science, *honoris causa*.

Professor David Meredith Seares Wilson (D.Sc.).—I present to you not the least notable of Manchester's many

notable contributions to the advancement of Science in other parts of the country, an old boy of our own Grammar School, and an old student of our own University. His road from the Chemical laboratories of Manchester to the Metropolitan Chair of Zoology, and Comparative Anatomy, which he now occupies with such distinction, was by way of Prehistoric Archæology and Geology. There, under Boyd Dawkins, was kindled in him a spark which has grown mightily with the years, to shed ever-increasing light on the history of life on this planet, and to bring growing lustre to his own name. He has travelled half the globe to catch fish that never rose to any angler's fly or found their way into any zoning scheme, and to trace the history of the amphibians that carried out the earliest combined operations on the beaches of the antique world. Our own Museum has been enriched by many donations from his finds. He is now the head of a brilliant school of Zoology, where the petrified remnants of the past and the living organisms of the present are united in a single body of scientific knowledge. His achievements have been recognised by the Royal Society's award of the Darwin Medal and—an unprecedented distinction for a zoologist—the Geological Society's Lyell Medal.

To-day our University takes pride of honouring the splendid maturity of one of her own sons by conferring upon him the degree of Doctor of Science, *honoris causa*.

PRINCIPAL HENRY WHEELER ROBINSON (D.D.).—I present to you a scholar who possesses the magic art that transmutes learning to wisdom and turns wisdom to practical use, a theologian, who holds that a belief in Providence need not inhibit forethought or dispense from honest toil, an Englishman who abhors muddling through.

As a scholar singleness of vision and tenacity of purpose mark his work, and a continuity can be traced between the prize essay of over forty years ago and his most recently published books. In the no-man's land that used to lie between pure theology and Semitic studies he has opened up lines of research that have been most fruitful hitherto and show no sign of exhaustion.

As a teacher the same singleness of vision and tenacity of

purpose have left their indelible mark on successive generations of students, who found themselves stimulated to a lively interest in matters they had deemed either beyond or beneath their capacity, spurred to exertions which they had previously considered far outside the limits of human endurance, and finally achieving results which often surprised their most sanguine hopes and their best conceit of themselves.

As administrator he transferred an entire College from London to Oxford, secured one of the best sites, and put up a building that is not only easy to look at but easy to work and easy to live in.

His services to Theological learning both in teaching and research have been outstanding, and fully merit the most honourable recognition by this University by conferring upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, *honoris causa*.

In acknowledging the honours conferred upon them and their fellow-graduates Professor Adams and Judge Leigh indulged in some charming reminiscences.

The Warden of All Souls (Professor Adams) said: "The forty years since 1903 have seen a great revolution in this country. The development in the whole field of community service and the social services has brought about a transformation in community life. War has twice hammered us together still more as a community, but the great thing in our life has been that not only has the State, central and local, carried forward this great architectural work of building up the status of citizenship which is buttressed by all these services, but that with this great growth of State, central, and local action there has been no less remarkable a development of the voluntary spirit and of the part which the voluntary services can play in building a community.

"It has been this marriage which has taken place silently but steadily in these years of the voluntary statutory services which has, I believe, given to this country a place of leadership in that field which we must maintain and carry forward still more.

"The greatest of all the social services," Professor Adams

said later, " is education ; and here again we are facing a period in which the challenge comes home, particularly to our universities. There has never in their history been such an opportunity. It is not only for the part which they can play in the development of adult community education which is the great problem that we have to solve in the field of education ; it is also for the part which they can play as centres to which men and women will come from all over the world. Manchester has a great part to play in this. *Arduus ad solem !* "

GUTHRIE VINE.

It is with profound regret that we have to record the sudden death of Mr. Guthrie Vine, M.A., which occurred at his home in Sale, on Saturday, the 27th of March, in the 75th year of his age. He was in his garden on the Saturday afternoon, apparently in the best of health, when his heart suddenly ceased to function and he fell lifeless across a flower-bed.

Mr. Vine came to Manchester in 1900, from Dublin, where he had been an assistant in the National Library of Ireland. Throughout the succeeding forty-two years he had occupied the position of Sub-Librarian of the John Rylands Library, and it is quite impossible to speak too highly of the service he rendered, not only to the Library but also to scholarship in general.

Indeed, it is but bare justice to his memory to say that in any success the Library may have achieved Mr. Vine has contributed an important part to that achievement.

His loss will be felt not only by his senior colleagues, but also by the junior members of the staff who looked to him for guidance and encouragement ; and also by the host of readers who, with unfailing confidence, appealed to him for guidance in their reading, as well as for help in the solution of their difficulties.

Mr. Vine was a graduate of London University, and although his interest was principally in the Classics, he was a good all-round scholar.

He was a keen bibliographer, and he realised that the best service it is possible to render to a research student is to put

into his hands a bibliography of the subject he might be investigating. Much of his work in this field has found a permanent place in the pages of the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY and in the various descriptive and other catalogues issued by the Library.

His principal work, however, is to be found in the great author and subject slip and card catalogues, which have been systematically built up under his direction.

Mention may be made of a few of his bibliographical studies :

" On the Construction of the Subject-Catalogue." 1909, 8vo.

" The Personality of the Librarian." 1911, 8vo.

" A Litil Boke the whiche traytied and reherced many gode thinges necessaries for the Pestilence . . . made by the Bisshop of Arusiens. . . ." [London, 1485.] Reproduced in facsimile from the only known copy in the John Rylands Library, with an introduction by Guthrie Vine. 1910, 4to.

" The Miller's Tale : a study of an unrecorded manuscript in the John Rylands Library—in relation to the first printed edition." 1933, 8vo.

" Around the earliest Spanish Version of Æsop's Fables," with three facsimiles. 1941, 8vo.

" A classified catalogue of the works of architecture and the allied arts in the principal libraries of Manchester and Salford." 1909, 8vo.

We regret to have to record the death of Mr. John Pierpont Morgan, head of the Banking firm of New York and of Morgan Grenfell & Co., of London, which occurred at Boca Grande, Florida, on Saturday, the 13th of March.

JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN.

Like his father before him Mr. Morgan took a keen interest in collecting works of art and literature, and was a generous benefactor to many institutions of learning and charity.

The great library of his father which contained a noteworthy and in some respects unsurpassed collection of printed books and manuscripts, housed in a superb marble building in New York, was handed over, by deed of gift, to a body of trustees for the benefit of scholars in all parts of the world, and was endowed with the sum of £300,000.

During his lifetime Mr. Morgan gave freely from his father's collections to museums in various parts of the world.

His friendship for this country was marked in 1929, when two of the most famous English manuscripts of the best period of the art of illumination came into the market, from the Library of Lulworth Castle, Dorset, then in the possession of the family of Weld.

The " Louterell Psalter " was executed about 1340, for Sir Geoffrey Louterell of Irnham, Co. Norfolk, and is one of the most beautiful, and one of the most lavishly decorated manuscripts in existence. It has long been famous for its remarkable series of marginal drawings illustrating the life and social customs of mediæval England. It passed through many hands, but was ultimately inherited by the family of Weld, of Lulworth, Dorset.

The second manuscript was the " Bedford Horæ, Psalter and Hours," executed (c. 1414) for John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford, Anjou and Alençon, third son of Henry IV, known chiefly to history as Regent at the time of the execution of Joan of Arc, and to literature for his appearance in Shakespeare's " King Henry IV," " King Henry V," and " King Henry VI." He was also known as the collector to whom the famous " Bedford Missal " belonged to which the present so-called " Bedford Book of Hours " will be reunited as a worthy companion.

In order to avoid the mishap of either of these precious manuscripts being lost to the country, Mr. Morgan proposed, nay urged, the Director of the British Museum to go ahead and buy the " Louterell Psalter " at the sale, for which purpose he was prepared to advance the money that might be necessary, lending it to the Museum without interest for a year. At the end of that period the Museum could either repay the money and keep the book as its own, or deliver the book to him for payment of the debt.

The Psalter was withdrawn from the sale, and sold privately, at the behest of Mr. Morgan, to the British Museum, for £31,500. The " Bedford Book of Hours " was acquired at the same sale for £33,000.

Such sums could not be provided by the Museum without the aid of subscriptions from the public. The money was found,

but only by a great effort, and with the aid of Mr. Morgan, who had lent the £64,500 for the purchase of the books without interest, and the year had nearly expired before the sum collected amounted to the requisite amount.

Without the ready and generous help of Mr. Morgan, who himself made a generous contribution to the fund, these two precious monuments of mediæval England could not have been secured, and his munificence is the more remarkable in view of the fact that he would greatly have liked to add them to the treasures of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.

THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

The present year marks the centenary of the foundation of the Chetham Society, which was formed round a Manchester dinner-table in 1843, for the purpose of printing "Remains Historical and Literary connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester." Its founder was James Crossley, the Manchester solicitor, who left a library of a hundred thousand volumes, and who was the centre of a cultured group that did much to redeem the Manchester of the bleak age from the taunt of complete Philistinism.

It started with a limit of 350 members, and a waiting-list, and though its membership has halved it has never ceased its publications. The 220 volumes which stand to its credit can compare with those of any similar society in either Britain or the United States. It had one crisis, sixty years ago, when the first generation of its keen editors having nearly died out, it fell into arrears with its publications and was upon the point of extinction. It was saved by Richard Copley Christie, a former professor at Owens College and then Chancellor of the Diocese of Manchester, and through him a close association began with the University that has continued down to this day.

From this source the Society has drawn four of its five presidents: Christie; Adolphus William Ward, who later became Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Professor Tait, and Professor Jacob. The editing of its volumes has improved in scholarship, and there has been no slackening in the flow.

We live in an age when the amateur historian and antiquary is less in evidence than in earlier, less distracted times, but there

are enough people, and libraries, to give the support which enables a society like the Chetham to keep up its modest but important contributions to the history of Lancashire and Cheshire.

The annual meeting, at which the centenary was commemorated, was held at the John Rylands Library, on Friday, the 14th of May, when Professor Jacob, the President, presided, and Professor James Tait, a former president, gave a most interesting review of the hundred years of the Society and of its work for the local history of Lancashire and Cheshire.

Professor Tait described James Crossley, the founder of the Society, as a man with literary tastes, reputed to be the literary mentor of Harrison Ainsworth, and as being of outstanding physique and character, who devoted forty years of his life mainly to the Society. Professor Tait recalled his own memory of him, over sixty years ago, as " a man of massive proportions and rosy, benevolent face." Two years before Crossley's death, in 1883, the Society nearly became extinct, but was saved by Richard Copley Christie, who introduced fresh blood into the team of editors, some of it from Owens College. This growth of an academic connection, which has deepened in recent years, has considerably influenced the Society's publications.

Professor Tait briefly surveyed the 220 volumes which the Society has published, covering a wide historical field, and was hopeful of its future. It had a useful financial reserve, and taking everything into consideration there seemed to be no reason why it should not continue to render, for an indefinite period, those services to knowledge and culture which had borne it intact to the completion of the hundredth year of its existence.

ESSAYS IN THE CONCILIAR EPOCH.

Professor Jacob is shortly to publish with the Manchester University Press a volume of " Essays in the Conciliar Epoch," which will contain a number of his studies which have appeared from time to time in the pages of this BULLETIN. They have been revised and augmented by some new material as well as by essays and studies published elsewhere.

The book is concerned with the reforming currents in the religious life and thought of the fifteenth century: in the main, with the efforts of the leading churchmen and thinkers of the Conciliar movement and with the pietism of the Low Countries. Under the later head Professor Jacob studies three representative figures, Gerard Groote, Thomas of Agenetenberg and Wessel Gansfort, and ends with a chapter on the theology of Nicholas of Cues.

In his treatment of Conciliar thought the author departs from the normal method of finding in it the application of contemporary constitutional theory to the Church: he is more concerned to trace its debt to Pauline and other theological influences and to link it up with philosophy and mysticism rather than with contemporary political speculation.

A NEW SIGNATURE OF SHAKESPEARE.

The discovery of a hitherto unknown and unrecorded signature of Shakespeare is an event of outstanding interest, and we offer our congratulations to the Folger Shakespeare Memorial Library, and to its Director, Dr. Joseph Quincy Adams, upon this fortunate acquisition.

In our last issue Professor Charlton, reviewing the first report to be issued by the Director, covering the first ten years of the Folger Library's progress, commented upon the paragraph recording the exciting purchase of a lot of four items in a sale at Sotheby's rooms, for the modest sum of one pound.

The four items were catalogued as: "James I 'Apologie' . . ., 1609—Heylyn 'Μικροκοσμος' . . ., 1636; etc. (4)." The "etc." included the unnamed precious copy of William Lambarde's "Αρχαιονομια," 1568, here referred to as containing, what in all probability is, the signature of Wm. Shakespeare, and with equal probability a volume that was once actually in the possession of the poet.

On looking up the Sotheby catalogue, which had proved so lucky for the Folger, we were struck by a fact which surely adds a piece of historic irony to the discovery. The Folger item comes from a lot described by the auctioneer as "A very ex-

tensive collection of books designed to illustrate the Baconian theory of the authorship of Shakespeare's plays."

In the present issue of the BULLETIN (pp. 256-259) Dr. Adams relates, for the first time, the romantic story of the discovery, and of the various tests which have been applied to the title-page by members of the Library staff, and other specialists, with the object of determining the authenticity of the signature; and we are grateful to him for affording us the privilege of giving this interesting story to our readers.

LANCASHIRE INDEPENDENT COLLEGE.

The centenary of the opening of the Lancashire Independent College, Whalley Range, Manchester, was celebrated at the College on the 28th of April, when a sermon was preached by Dr. J. S. Whale, president of Cheshunt College, Cambridge. A public meeting was held in the afternoon, and in the evening there was a reunion of past and present students.

The commemoration meeting coincided with the valediction of Dr. A. J. Grieve, the principal of the College since 1921, who retired from his charge on that same day. At that same meeting a portrait of Dr. Grieve by A. N. Mason was jointly unveiled by his daughter, Mrs. Benny, and Mr. J. R. Eccles, chairman of the College Committee, after tributes had been paid by Mr. Eccles and the Rev. T. T. James, Moderator and Secretary of the Lancashire Congregational Union. The portrait is a gift to the College from the committee, past and present students, and friends as a permanent memorial of Dr. Grieve's principalship, to be hung in the dining-room with the portraits of his five predecessors, when the College buildings, damaged by the blitz, are restored after the war.

Among messages received was one from the Lord Chancellor Simon, who was unable to be present, but recalled the days when his parents lived in the vicinity and all his excursions were in the direction of Whalley Range.

Speakers at the commemoration included Dr. Sidney Berry, the Rev. F. Chalmers Rogers, grandson of Dr. Guinness Rogers, who was the first student of the college; Professor T. W. Manson, the Rev. T. T. James, Dr. W. L. Wardle, and Dr. H. Townsend.

The Bishop of Manchester and the Dean of Manchester were also present at the morning service.

Dr. Berry, in the course of his address, said that when the history of education in this country came to be written fully the old Dissenting academies would hold a place of high honour, and to their " Fathers in the Faith," who were men enough to make the opportunities the world denied them, they paid tribute.

Professor Manson spoke of the notable contribution the College had made to the Faculty of Theology at the University, and among the many high tributes to Dr. Grieve was that of Dr. Townsend, who said that for twenty-one years he had been a great strength to the Church life of Manchester. " Again and again by his influence and his contributions, he has helped unity and friendship, and to maintain those convictions for which we Churchmen stand."

Dr. Grieve said he could not subscribe to the portrait of him which had been drawn that afternoon. " There were many things I wanted to do which I have not been able to do—the sins of omission and one or two sins of commission too." He briefly recalled worthies of the past, including Professor Henry Rogers, " in some ways the greatest of all principals " of the College and who was never ordained ; he spoke of how God had blessed him in his home life, and mentioned as memorable events of his time the recognition of the College as a University hall of residence and their experience at the College in training women for the ministry.

The work of the Principal was necessarily largely administrative, but there were wider ends, and he had tried to keep in view all the time the supreme task, the training of a body of men devoted to the advancement of the Christian life. They had never there regarded the " academic " and the " spiritual " as strict alternatives. The spiritual aim, while it transcended the academic, should also include it.

Dr Grieve, who spoke under the influence of emotion, concluded : " Thank you for all the good things, the too-kind things, said. God bless the College."

It will not be out of place, on this occasion, briefly to recall the fact that Lancashire Independent College came into existence

" for the education of young men for the Christian ministry " at Blackburn in 1816. Indeed, the idea of an Independent College had been in the minds of the Congregationalists who found themselves shut out from the universities, and denied access to the means for a liberal education which benefactors of former days provided. With this experience in mind they were determined to make such provision as they could for the young men whom they encouraged to enter the ministry.

The College may be said to have had its origin in the semi-official seminary established by the Rev. William Roby, minister of the Independent Church meeting at Cannon Street, Manchester, in 1803, for the purpose of educating candidates to serve the Independent Churches of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire. Eight years later the Lancashire Congregational Union established an " Independent Theological Academy " at Pendleton, but the venture lasted only two years. Renewed efforts were made in 1816 by the ministers and churches of the County Union, and the Blackburn Independent Academy came into being, its home being a house in Ainsworth Street, Blackburn, and its president the Rev. Joseph Fletcher, M.A. (later D.D.). It was in 1838 that the decision was made to remove the academy to Manchester, and on September 23, 1840, the treasurer, George Hadfield, was to lay the foundation-stone at Whalley Range. The ceremony was not without its " hitch," for the covered platform, buffeted by the wind, suddenly collapsed and, though there were no fatal casualties, " above a hundred ladies, including many attired in the light and elegant costumes of summer," received a severe shaking. During the next two years the College began to take shape.

The site was a freehold plot of just over seven acres on a swampy moor then known as Jackson's Moss. A feature of the building was a Gothic tower of 92 feet. At one time concern was expressed about its stability, but it was adjudged on examination to be solid enough, and neither a hundred years of time nor the blast of German bombs has upset that judgment. The building included forty-two studies, but their inadequacy led to considerable alterations being made to the College in 1878.

The College, founded in the year after Waterloo, should

have celebrated its centenary in 1916, but at that time the building was under requisition as a hostel for Army nurses, and the observance had to be postponed until 1920, when the use of the College buildings was resumed. Now, with the second World War in progress, the College marks another milestone in its history. It was heavily damaged by blast during the raids on Manchester in December, 1940, but was able to open on the appointed day in January.

During the hundred years just completed a procession of "pious young men" has passed through its doors to emerge as ministers who were not only "godly" but considerable scholars, and the alumni of the College, which embraces 547 names, represents a century of distinguished teaching and distinguished results.

Dr. Grieve, who is to assume a pastoral charge at Cavendish, Suffolk, is to be succeeded as Principal by the Rev. Gordon Robinson, a former student of the College, until recently minister of Union Street Church, Oldham.

An interesting sketch of the history of the College, including brief "Annals of the College, Year by Year," and a complete list of the "Alumni of the College Triumphant and Militant," together with a list of the Professors and Tutors has been issued as a memorial of the commemoration.

THE NUFFIELD FOUNDATION.

It is quite impossible to form any estimate of the far-reaching effect of Lord Nuffield's munificent benefactions.

Lord Nuffield's most recent gift, which is described in the following paragraphs, awakens feelings of intense gratitude for a great bestowal, which makes the horizon of the future bright with hope, and is a great object-lesson of the enlightened use of wealth for the stimulation of research and for the extension of human knowledge, by the organisation of medical, health, and social services, together with scientific research and teaching in the interests of trade and industry, and for the care and comfort of the aged.

There is a vast difference between a bestowal and a bequest. A benefactor who gives his money while he lives is on a higher plane than one who resorts to testamentary methods to dispose

of it. We are accustomed to speak of them in the same terms, although there is a moral distinction between the two which compels us to put them in different classes of action.

The scheme of this latest benefaction is conceived in no narrow spirit. It is obvious that the purpose which Lord Nuffield has had in view is to allow it to mature and fructify as time goes on, and it is fortunate that he proceeds in a leisurely manner, since many unforeseen circumstances may arise which will help to give a shape to the contemplated Foundation which neither the Founder nor anyone else could have anticipated.

The normal scope of the Trust's activities will be Great Britain and Northern Ireland, but it may be extended to include provision of scholarships and other assistance to Empire students.

"Lord Nuffield has intimated his intention of founding forthwith a charitable trust, which will be known as 'The Nuffield Foundation.'

"He desires to make this donation from resources which have been built up through private enterprise, in the essential importance of which he is a firm believer. He wishes, in so doing, to record his view that the spontaneous contributions which come from such sources to the service of the community are, and must always remain, a vital factor in the life of the nation.

"Lord Nuffield will, therefore, hand over to trustees his shareholdings in the Nuffield Organisation to the value of £10,000,000 as a capital fund. The income from this fund will be administered by managing trustees, who will not exceed seven in number. Lord Nuffield has appointed the following as managing trustees:

Sir William M. Goodenough, Bt. (chairman).
Sir John S. B. Stopford, M.B.E., F.R.S. (vice-chairman).
Professor F. L. Engledow, C.M.G., M.A., B.Sc.
The Hon. Geoffrey C. Gibbs.
Sir Hector Hetherington, M.A., LL.D.
Sir Henry T. Tizard, K.C.B., F.R.S.
Miss Janet Vaughan, D.M., F.R.C.P.

"Lord Nuffield wishes to make it clear that in carrying out this arrangement he is not in any way withdrawing from his

association with his businesses, with which he will be personally identified in the same way as heretofore.

"The objects which the trustees will endeavour to assist are as follows:

1.—Medical research and teaching.

2.—The organisation and development of medical and health services.

3.—Scientific research and teaching in the interests of trade and industry.

4.—The pursuit of social studies.

5.—The care and comfort of aged persons.

"The normal scope of the Trust's activities will be Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Attention may, however, be given to projects particularly affecting the Empire, and in regard to items 1 and 3 above the provision of scholarships and other assistance for Empire students is included. It is provided that Lord Nuffield's Trusts which are already in being may benefit from the income of the new Trust.

"The managing trustees are enjoined to consult the appropriate Ministers or Departments of State in connection with any matters of major importance in which they may become interested. They are not, however, to be in any way bound by the views expressed by these Ministers or Departments in carrying out the work of the Trust."

JEWISH TRIBUTE TO C. P. SCOTT AND HIS PAPER.

The Manchester and Salford Jewish community paid a tribute to the *Manchester Guardian* and the memory of Mr. C. P. Scott, in March last, by the consecration of a "'Manchester Guardian' Bed" in the Home for Aged, Needy, and Incurable Jews, Cheetham, founded half a century ago as a shelter for refugees from Eastern Europe.

The ceremony was conducted by the Communal Rabbi, Dr. A. Altmann, in the presence of a large gathering of representative members of all sections of the community's social and religious life, and a number of non-Jewish friends.

Mr. J. R. Scott, managing director of the *Manchester Guardian*, unveiled the dedicatory tablet, and Mr. W. P. Crozier,

the present editor, expressed appreciation and thanks on behalf of the Scott family, and C.P.'s spiritual family, who still exist in his staff and in the conduct of the *Manchester Guardian*.

Dr. Altmann, in an address at the consecration ceremony, said that it was not often a group of people of a whole community were moved by an almost personal affection for an impersonal institution such as a newspaper.

In the case of the *Manchester Guardian*, we, the Jewish community, feel an unbounded personal admiration, gratitude and love for the great paper, said Dr. Altmann. To-day's ceremony endeavours to express, in some small way, our sentiments towards it and the man who gave it his great soul. To us the *Manchester Guardian* is what the Statue of Liberty is to the American citizen, a symbol of a better and nobler world, the messenger and spokesman of that new spirit among the nations which is the core of prophetic Judaism, and for which we have been suffering throughout the ages. In a world in which narrow prejudice and egotism, both on an individual and on a national scale, so often threaten to extinguish the light of true civilisation the *Guardian* has persisted in acting as the torch-bearer of humanity, an unfailing source of comfort and hope.

Other speakers spoke of the gratitude of the Jewish people for the unceasing efforts of the *Manchester Guardian* on behalf of all weak and oppressed peoples; and in a letter from the late Mr. Neville Laski, which was read, C. P. Scott is referred to as the "Chevalier Bayard of the English press."

Mr. Crozier said that it would have delighted "C.P." to think that his memory, and his paper, should be associated with an institution which was typical of many things for which he stood—passionate care for the weak, and indignation against injustice and tyranny. "C.P." was a great journalist and a great politician, but he was greatest as a prophet, sharing the prophetic qualities of vision, insight, courage, conviction, and determination, the determination to go on championing a cause till it was successful. "The coming years," "C.P." had said at the end of the last war, "must be faced in the spirit of hope, faith and fortitude," and he knew of no better principle and no better maxim for us to adopt in those difficult times and the more difficult times which might be to come.

Mr. Crozier's last words were that the *Manchester Guardian* is carrying on its task in the spirit of C. P. Scott.

THE FUTURE OF ARCHÆOLOGY.

It has been decided to hold a conference on the Future of Archæology at the Institute of Archæology, in Regent's Park, London, from Friday, 6th August, to Sunday, 8th August.

Archæologists connected with a large number of societies have been informally consulted, and much support has been shown for the idea that a conference on problems connected with post-war archæology would be valuable. It is believed that the conference will form a useful supplement to the meeting of the Congress of Archæological Societies, which has been summoned to discuss steps to be taken in connection with the future of archæology in Britain, but which will provide only limited scope for discussion.

The geographical range of subjects will extend from Britain to the Middle East, including all the intervening countries in which British interests are concerned. Many subjects on which discussion is required affect all archæologists, whatever their sphere of work, and it is felt that a comparison of experience and problems will be useful.

The subjects provisionally suggested for discussion are: The Contribution of Archæology to the Post-War World; The Future of Discovery at Home and Overseas; The Training of Archæologists; Archæology as a Career; Planning and the Independence of Societies; Museums and the Public; Archæology and Education, in Schools and Universities; and Archæology and the State at Home and Overseas.

It is felt that if it is necessary to approach the State on any matter, a conference such as this would provide evidence of a strong body of opinion behind any such approach.

It is hoped that Universities and national and local societies will arrange to be formally represented at the conference, and as many individual archæologists as possible will attend.

All interested are asked to notify the Secretary, Institute of Archæology, Inner Circle, Regent's Park, London, N.W. 1, when a detailed programme will be sent to them.

The Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has just written an epoch-making book on "China's Destiny," which consists of eight chapters and a conclusion, in 100,000 words. It was published in China in March and the authorised English version under the editorship of Dr. Wang Chung-hui, China's former Foreign Minister, is to appear almost immediately. CHINA'S DESTINY.

In the first chapter, on the "Growth and Development of the Chinese Nation," the Generalissimo attributes the continued existence of the Chinese nation for five thousand years to the fact that the Chinese people have been able to cultivate "the virtue of integrity and a sense of honour, to endure trials and shoulder responsibilities." It is because the Chinese possess these moral qualities that they will not encroach upon other people's possessions, nor will they suffer theirs to be encroached upon by others. The territories which China has hitherto possessed are all essential to her national existence. During the past five thousand years China, in fact, has not advanced beyond her territorial possessions or encroached upon those of other nations. Should other nations, however, encroach upon China's territorial possessions essential to her national existence, the Chinese people would rise to avenge the injustice done. They would not rest until their lost territories were recovered.

The other chapters deal with: (2) "Origin of National Humiliation and Cause of the Revolution"; (3) "The Far-reaching Effects of the Unequal Treaties"; (4) "From the Northern Expedition to the War of Resistance"; (5) "Abrogation of Unequal Treaties and the Essentials of Future National Reconstruction"; (6) "Basic Problems of Revolution and National Reconstruction"; (7) "The Nerve Centre of China's National Reconstruction and the Turning-Point in China's Destiny"; (8) "China's Destiny and the Future of the World."

This brief summary has been gathered from "Contemporary China," 22nd March, 1943.

It must be a source not only of pleasure but of pride to any scholar to have such an honour paid to him as that which has been paid to Dr. Frederick William Shipley by his colleagues of the University of Washington, in the volume of "Studies in Honor of Frederick W. Shipley," which forms one of the "Washington FREDERICK WILLIAM SHIPLEY OF WASHINGTON.

University Studies: New Series, Language and Literature—No. 14, 1942."

Dr. Shipley was born in Canada and is a graduate and honours man of Toronto University.

His association with Washington University began in 1901, so that by 1941 he had completed his fortieth year of distinguished service.

The Chancellor of the University of Washington (Dr. George R. Throop) pays a very high tribute to the character and scholarship of Dr. Shipley when he refers to him as an inspiring and stimulating teacher, with a capacity for organisation and administration—a record of appreciation of which any scholar might justly be proud.

Like so many other classical scholars Dr. Shipley owes much to his residence from 1895 to 1897 at the American School of Classical Studies, and subsequently, as annual professor, in the American Academy in Rome.

His reputation as a classical scholar was established by the publication of his scholarly monograph on "Sources of Corruption in Latin Manuscripts," which has itself since become a classic.

Scholarship and administrative ability do not always go together, but in the case of Dr. Shipley the recognition of his influence in both capacities is most marked.

The sixteen essays contained in this volume deal with a group of subjects as fascinating as they are varied, which are fairly representative of Shipley's own interests, and present a contribution each in the writer's own field. They include: "Thucydides and the Peloponnesian War"; "Prehistoric Macedonia"; "Classical 'Ariels'"; "French Symbolism"; "Bibliographical Data on Diderot"; "The Moral Sense of Simplicity"; "Imitation as an Æsthetic Norm"; "Immediacy: its Nature and Value"; "Rosencrantz and Guildenstern"; and others of equal interest.

We beg to be allowed to join Dr. Shipley's colleagues and friends in congratulating him upon his outstanding achievements during the past forty years, and in wishing him still many years of life in which to further develop the studies which he has

adorned and made attractive to the students who may still look to him for guidance and inspiration.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AUSTRALIA.

The publication of the first volume of the "Bibliography of Australia," compiled by John Alexander Ferguson, and published by Angus and Robertson of Sydney and London, is an event of outstanding importance in the history of Australian literature.

It is the product of twenty-five years of research and without doubt will remain the standard authority on early Australia.

There have been attempts in the past to compile a bibliography of books and other printed matter relating to Australia, but hitherto nothing approaching the serious treatment of the subject by Justice Ferguson has been attempted.

The present volume covers the period 1784 to 1830, and is modelled on the lines followed by Charles Evans in his monumental "American Bibliography, 1639-1820," of which twelve quarto volumes have appeared. Justice Ferguson has improved upon the method of transcription and display of the title-page as adopted by Mr. Evans, by showing the exact arrangement of the title, by the employment of upright bars to indicate the exact position occupied by the various lines.

The arrangement is chronological with author and subject indexes.

The precise description of each work is given with historical and bibliographical notes, and the more notable or quaint titles and imprints have been reproduced in facsimile.

Throughout the volume there is abundant evidence of the reverent touch of the true bibliographer and book-lover.

It is one of the most satisfying pieces of bibliographical description that it has been our pleasure to examine, and we look forward to the perusal of the succeeding volumes.

We congratulate Justice Ferguson upon the thoroughness of his work, which furnishes us with a fascinating picture of the history of Australia from the first settlement down to 1830.

It is said to include every known publication, wherever printed, and whatever its subject or language, having reference to

Australia: books, pamphlets, broadsides and periodicals, including newspapers, have been described, and the location of copies has been indicated.

Maps and prints, which undoubtedly call for special treatment, have been wisely excluded

DR. H. GUPPY: FORTY YEARS' SERVICE CELEBRATED.

At the earnest desire of the Trustees, Governors, and Staff of the Library the following notes are reprinted from the *Manchester Guardian* of 29th of June, 1943:

"At the John Rylands Library yesterday afternoon Dr. H. Guppy, the librarian, received from its governors and trustees a portrait drawing made of him by Mr. F. W. Schmidt.

"In the absence of Sir John Stopford Sir Christopher Needham from the chair described the occasion as a symbolic recognition of Dr. Guppy's share in the creation of one of our greatest libraries, a library which not only secured and housed great books but under its librarian's inspiration, devised and maintained means by which its resources could serve the interests of scholarship and of culture.

"Speaking as senior governor, Professor H. B. Charlton said that the day's ceremony had not realised the plan set up three years ago for appropriately celebrating Dr. Guppy's forty years' service as Rylands librarian. They had intended an oil-painting by a great painter. The war, however, had determined the limits of the scheme. He for one did not apologise nor regret. A great painter might have caught the universal features of Dr. Guppy. Dr. Guppy, however, was both an institutional symbol and a richly human person, and it was this human soul of kindliness which they as old-time friends might have missed in a work of national art.

"The one feature of the ceremony he did regret, however, was Sir John Stopford's absence, because Sir John, like Dr. Guppy, was one of those few people equally great as symbolic representatives and as human mortals. Dr. Guppy's outstanding gifts were his reverence for knowledge, and hence for the old mediæval clerks and the early printers who preserved and transmitted it, and his fatherly kindness for even the meanest young student who wished to seek knowledge.

" Mr. J. Harold Brown, the honorary secretary, added his tribute. As a business man he saw in the Rylands librarian an astute man of affairs who bought books well and cheaply, and who managed the business of a large library with a skill which would have made him a dangerous competitor in commerce. He told how Dr. Guppy, against the advice of counsel, had contested the findings of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue and secured the recognition of the trust as a tax-free corporation. Yet withal he had seen first that the library was a sanctuary of the things of the mind.

" In reply, Dr. Guppy, giving back the portrait to take its place in the council chamber, recalled incidents in the romance of the forty-four years which had elapsed since Mrs. Rylands invited him to come to Manchester and build up such a library as would realise her and her late husband's dearest ambition."

RECENT RYLANDS PUBLICATIONS.

The following is a list of publications, consisting of articles which have appeared in preceding issues of the BULLETIN :

" Browning's Ethical Poetry." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 36. Price 1s. 6d. net.

" The Folger Shakespeare Memorial Library." By H. B. Charlton, M.A. 8vo, pp. 4. Price 6d. net.

" Robert Merry : a Pre-Byronic Hero." By James L. Clifford, Ph.D. 8vo, pp. 24. Price 1s. 6d. net.

" Two Hitherto Unknown Bible Versions in Greek." By Dr. Samuel Krauss, Cambridge. 8vo, pp. 12. Price 1s. net.

" Contemporary Poetry and Drama in Greece." By Alexander A. Matsas. 8vo, pp. 21. Price 1s. 6d. net.

" Greece's Rôle as a Balkan and Mediterranean Power." By A. Michalopoulos, C.B.E., M.A. 8vo, pp. 12. Price 1s. net.

" Are There Human Instincts ? " By T. H. Pear, M.A., B.Sc. 8vo, pp. 30. Price 1s. 6d. net.

" Saadya Gaon : An Appreciation of his Biblical Exegesis." By Erwin I. J. Rosenthal, D.Phil. 8vo, pp. 12. Price 1s. net.

"An Anglo-Norman Return to the Inquest of Sheriffs." By Helen Suggett, B.Litt. 8vo, pp. 4. Price 6d. net.

"Human Records: A Survey of their History from the Beginning." By Henry Guppy, C.B.E., Litt.D. 8vo, pp. 44. 2s. net.

RYLANDS PUBLIC LECTURES.

A short series of afternoon lectures is being arranged for the ensuing session, to commence at three o'clock, of which the following are the first fixtures:

Wednesday, 13th October, 1943, "The Harvest of Browning's Wisdom: 'The Ring and the Book.'" By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 10th November, 1943, "The Medieval Parsonage and its Occupants." By the Rev. John R. H. Moorman, B.D., Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Wednesday, 8th December, 1943, "Food Production in Ancient Sumer." By T. Fish, Ph.D., Special Lecturer in Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th January, 1944, "The Life of Jesus: a Survey of the Available Sources. (2) The Foundation of Synoptic Tradition." By T. W. Manson, Litt.D., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

GENERAL ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The following titles represent a selection of the works added to the shelves of the Library since the publication of our last issue:

ART: BLUNT (Henry), "François Mansart and the origins of French Classical Architecture," 8vo; BUCHTHAL (H.) and KURZ (Otto), "A hand-list of illuminated Oriental Christian Manuscripts," 8vo; EDEN (W. A.), "The process of architectural tradition," 8vo; VIOLA (W.), "Child art (Children as creative artists: an exposition of Cizek's methods)," 8vo; WHITEHILL (W. M.), "Spanish Romanesque Architecture of the eleventh century," 8vo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BANKIPORE, "Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts," 25 vols., 8vo; FERGUSON (John Alexander), "Bibliography of Australia, vol. 1, 1784-1830,"

8vo ; ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, " Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts," 26 vols., 8vo.

HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY : ABERDEEN, " Aberdeen Council Letters, vol. 1 (1552-1633). Transcribed and edited for the Town Council by L. B. Taylor," 8vo ; ASPINALL-OGLANDER (Cecil), " Admiral's Widow, being the life and letters of the Hon. Mrs. Edward Boscawen from 1761 to 1805 (widow of Pitt's favourite Admiral, one of the best-known figures of eighteenth century London)," 8vo ; BEN JACOB (Jeremiah), " The Jewish Struggle (Palestine as a world-wide problem)," 8vo ; BRINTON (Crane), " Nietzsche (Makers of Modern Europe)," 8vo ; BRODRICK (A. Houghton), " Little China : the Annamese Lands," 8vo ; BRODRICK (A. H.), " North Africa," 8vo ; BRYANT (Arthur), " The years of endurance, 1793-1802," 8vo ; BURNOW (A. J.), " The Dutch : a portrait study of the people of Holland," 8vo ; BUTLER (Rohan D'O.), " The roots of National Socialism," 8vo ; BYZANTION : " International Journal of Byzantine Studies, vol. 15, 1940-41," 8vo ; CABLE (M.) and FRENCH (F.), " The Gobi Desert," 8vo ; CHESTERTON (Mrs. Cecil), " Salute the Soviet," 8vo ; CHRISTIAN (J. L.), " Modern Burma (a land of conglomerate peoples)," 8vo ; COASTAL COMMAND, " The Air Ministry Account of the part played by Coastal Command in the Battle of the Seas, 1939-1942," 8vo ; COLLIS (Maurice), " The Land of the Great Image, being the experiences of Friar Manrique in Arakan," 8vo ; COMENIUS : " The Teacher of Nations : Addresses and essays in commemoration of the Visit to England of the Great Czech Educationist, 1641-1941, by Edward Benes, edited by J. Needham," 8vo ; CONN (Stetson), " Gibraltar in British Diplomacy in the Eighteenth Century," 8vo ; COUPLAND (R.), " The Indian Problem, 1833-1935," 8vo ; " DOCUMENTS OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1938, vol. 1, edited by M. Curtis," 8vo ; ELTON (Lord), " Saint George or the Dragon," 8vo ; EVANS (E. Estyn), " Irish Heritage, the landscape, the people and their work," 8vo ; FENEAGH, " The Book of Feneagh ; supplementary volume, edited by R. A. S. Macalister," 8vo ; FYFE (J. G.), " Scottish diaries and memoirs, 1746-1843, arranged and edited by J. G. Fyfe," 8vo ; GALDAMES (Luis), " A history of Chile, translated and edited by I. J. Cox," 8vo ;

HOCKETT (H. C.), "Political and Social growth of the American people, 1492-1815," 8vo; HOMAN (J. Caspar), "English Villagers of the 13th century," 8vo; HUTT (W. H.), "Plan for reconstruction," by the Professor of Commerce in the University of Capetown, 8vo; HRUSHEVSKY (M.), "A history of Ukraine," 8vo; HUNTINGDON (Lord), "Common-sense about India," 8vo; HUTCHINSON (Isobel), "The Aleutian Islands, America's Back Door," 8vo; INGRAMS (Harold), "Arabia and the Isles," 8vo; IRELAND, "A census of Ireland, *circa* 1659, with supplementary material from the Poll Money Ordinances, 1660-1661, edited by S. Pender," 8vo; KAECKENBEECK (Georges), "The International experiment of the Upper Silesian Settlement (1922-1937)," 8vo; KANTOROWICZ (H.), "Bractonian problems, with a short memoir of the author by D. M. Stenton," 8vo; KEESING (Felix), "The South Sea in the Modern World," 8vo; KENMARE (Earl of), "The Kenmare Manuscripts, edited by E. MacLysaght," 8vo; KESTON (G. W.), "China, The Far East and the future," 8vo; KING (L. C.), "South African Scenery: a text-book of Geomorphology," 8vo; LAYARD (John), "Stone men of Malekula, the small Island of Vac (New Hebrides)," 8vo; LEONHARDT (Hans L.), "Nazi conquest of Dantzig," 8vo; LEYBURN (James G.), "The Haitain people," 8vo; MACKENZIE (Agnes Mure), "Scotland in modern times," 8vo; MAILLAUD (P.), "France (Grand Inquest on 1940: causes of the French Capitulation). Foreword by D. W. Brogan," 8vo; MASSINGHAM (H. J.), "Country relics: an account of some old tools and properties belonging to English craftsmen and husbandmen saved from destruction (Illus.)," 8vo; MAYNARD (John), "The Russian peasant and other studies, with a foreword by Ernest Barker," 8vo; MILLER (Henry), "The Colossus of Greece," 8vo; MILUIKOV (Paul), "Outlines of Russian culture, edited by M. Karpovich and trans. by V. Ughet and E. Davis," 3 vols., 8vo; MOORE (R. W.), "Rome's achievement: The Roman Commonwealth," 8vo; MORISON (S. Eliot), "Christopher Columbus (New light on the Harvard Columbus Expedition)," 8vo; MORRISON (Jan), "Malayan postscript," 8vo; MOVIUS (H. L.), "The Irish Stone Age, its chronology, development and relationships," 4to; MUMFORD

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The Misses Eunice M. and Alicia J. Minor have presented : in memory of their brother, Philip Scott Minor, LL.B., of his son, Lieutenant Roland Minor, and their cousin, Lieutenant Philip Minor, both of whom lost their lives in the Great War (1914-1918) ; also of their young cousin, Major Basil Minor, M.B.E., who died in action in Libya, 1942 :

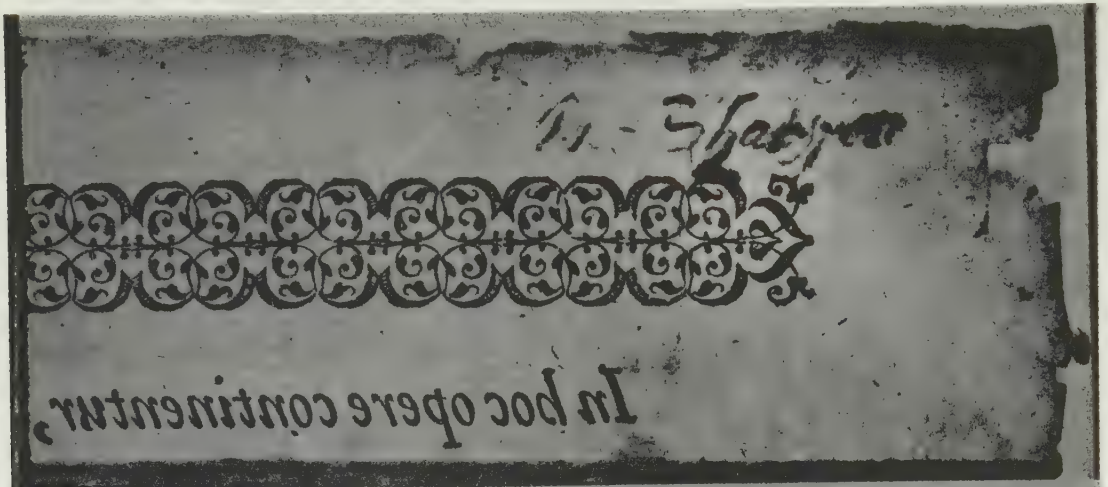
The HINTON PEDIGREE which was drawn up for Philip and Mary Hinton in 1652, goes back to about 1170, and has been preserved by several generations of Minors, who became associated with the Hintons by marriage, but now that all the latest male descendants of the Minor Family have been killed in action, it has been decided by the two Misses Minor to deposit the Pedigree in the safe custody of the John Rylands Library.

The pedigree has been beautifully executed on a roll of about six feet in length.

# A NEW SIGNATURE OF SHAKESPEARE?

By JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS, Litt.D., Ph.D.,
DIRECTOR OF THE FOLGER SHAKESPEARE MEMORIAL LIBRARY, WASHINGTON.

IN a catalogue of unimportant books to be sold at Sotheby's on 28th November, 1938, were offered, as a lot (no. 505), four items, to wit, Peter Heylyn's *Microcosmos*, 1636 (seventh edition), with King James's *Apologie*, 1609, and "two others," undescribed. Since the Folger possessed all the editions of the *Microcosmos* except the seventh, it sent in a small bid representing what it was willing to pay for that item alone. The bid was successful, and in due time the four volumes were delivered to the Library. One of the two undescribed items was William Lambarde's APXAIONOMIA, 1568. Unfortunately the volume, although uncut and still tightly bound in its original vellum covers, had at some—apparently early—date been seriously damaged by water, with the result that the paper had been rendered very tender, and the upper portion of the title-page had been crumpled into many small wrinkles. Since the Folger already had a fine copy of this work—interesting as one of the early examples of Anglo-Saxon printing—this inferior copy would normally have been discarded; but certain discovered facts seemed to justify its retention. In the top margin of the title-page, written in a sixteenth-century Italian hand that bore some resemblance to that of the author, Lambarde, appeared the following note: "This to be kept for Ye Impression is out nor like to be renew'd." Moreover, on the inside of the front vellum cover, written in an eighteenth-century hand, appeared the seemingly irrelevant note: "Mr. Wm Shakspeare lived at No 1 Little Crown Street Westminster. NB near Dorset steps St. James Park." Little Crown Street seems to have disappeared in the first half of the eighteenth century, for it is not recorded in Rocque's minutely detailed *Plan of the Streets of London and Westminster*, 1761. The note is interesting, not only because of its apparently early date, but also because, at least so far as we




Facsimile of "A New Signature of Shakespeare." In the possession of the Folger Shakespeare Memorial Library, Washington.

could find, the statement that Shakespeare had once had lodgings in Westminster (where Ben Jonson is known to have resided) has not elsewhere been made. When all efforts to discover why a reference to the dramatist should have been entered in the front of this copy of the APXAIONOMIA proved futile, its occurrence there was dismissed as, though curious, probably without special significance. The Library's binder was then instructed to iron out the crumpled title-leaf preparatory to depositing the volume in the stacks. Upon doing so he revealed the signature " W$^{m}$ Shakespere " which had heretofore been entirely concealed in numerous tiny wrinkles.

The signature was written partly above and partly over the right-hand portion of the lacework ornament used by the printer to adorn the top of the title-page, and hence is not easily read when viewed from the front ; but when viewed from the back of the title-leaf, since the ornament does not there appear, whereas the ink of the signature has penetrated the paper, it shows up clearly, though, of course, in reverse. The photograph of the signature here reproduced was taken from the back of the leaf, and the negative reversed in the printing. The photograph, I should add, represents the signature as much darker than it actually is in the original. The individual letters are readily deciphered as : *W*, followed by enough space for a superior *m*, which, unfortunately, has been mainly, but not entirely, obliterated as a result of a defect in the friable paper ; then, quite unmistakably, *S-h-a-k-s-p ;* and, at the end, certain letters, somewhat blurred by water, which seem to be *e-r-e*.

Obviously there are three possible explanations of this signature : first, it may be a forgery made with intent to deceive ; secondly, it may be the genuine signature of some unknown person with the name " William Shakspere " ; and, thirdly, it may be the autograph signature of William Shakespeare the dramatist.

After the binder had called the signature to our attention, the members of the staff—particularly Dr. Edwin E. Willoughby, Dr. Giles E. Dawson, and Dr. James G. McManaway—subjected it to a careful palæographical study, and to a close examination with a magnifying glass and under ultra-violet and infra-red

light. They were unanimous in concluding that, so far as they were able to judge, the signature was in all likelihood genuine. Dr. Dawson, for example, the Library's palæographer and Curator of Manuscripts, reported: "The capital *S* and the *h* resemble those in one or two of the six known signatures of the poet; the *W*, what we can see of it, follows the pattern of that of several of the six; and the whole is much more like Shakespeare's genuine signatures than any forgery I have ever seen, or of any of the signatures thought to be 'possibly genuine.' I can say with confidence that it is not the work of William Henry Ireland. A microscopic and ultra-violet examination of its ink reveal no reason for considering it a recent fabrication. Moreover, the possibility of its being a very recent fabrication is ruled out, I believe, by the condition of the volume and the circumstances under which we acquired it. If the signature is a forgery, it must have been executed a long time ago, and, unless the statement regarding Shakespeare's residence written on the inside of the front cover is also a forgery, it must have been in existence at least as early as the eighteenth century. Further, if both the signature and the statement are fabrications of the early nineteenth century—the latest date that could reasonably be assigned to them—then the forger did his work with such skill and cleverness as to make Ireland and every other known forger of the period appear by contrast the most ignorant of botchers. He must have used a genuine signature of Shakespeare as a model, and must have chosen the position of his forgery—over the printer's ornament—with a view to making it difficult to decipher. Such care and subtlety in fabrication are quite unthinkable in the age when Ireland enjoyed his remarkable, if short-lived, success. Indeed, it is difficult to see how this signature could be the work of a forger in any period. No one jotting down Shakespeare's name on the title-page at a date before 1800 could by accident have made it resemble so closely the dramatist's signature, nor could another 'William Shakespeare' have done so. Finally, no notice of the presence of the signature, which, before the book was damaged by water and its title-leaf crumpled, must have been considerably clearer, has ever been recorded—a fact that argues strongly against forgery."

The Library then submitted the volume to the experts of the United States Archives for a thorough study. With the co-operation of the National Archivist, Dr. Connor, and of Dr. Tate, the distinguished government authority on questioned documents, the signature was subjected, in the well-equipped laboratory of the Archives, to exhaustive microscopic, chemical, photographic, and other tests, and to a detailed comparison with the signatures of Shakespeare known to be genuine. At the end of several months of investigation, Dr. Tate reported that, after applying all the tests known to him, he could discover no evidence that the signature was not contemporary with the poet, and hence what it purported to be, namely a genuine signature of some person named "William Shakespeare"; and that after comparing its individual letters with those of the dramatist's acknowledged signatures, he believed it to be in all likelihood from the same hand.

Thus, although certainty cannot be claimed, so far as modern science can tell, there seems to be no reason to question the antiquity of the signature, and a palæographical study points to its being the autograph of the poet.

It would be a pleasant, but, I fear, an unlikely guess that the author, Lambarde, presented the volume to Shakespeare with the injunction to keep it since the edition was exhausted, and not "like to be renew'd"—a prediction that proved to be true. Shakespeare is thought to have been familiar with Lambarde's *Eirenarcha*, and Queen Elizabeth is known to have conversed with Lambarde on one occasion about the dramatist's *Richard II* and its performance in connection with the Essex rebellion. That the two men of letters in the small world of literary London knew each other is hardly to be doubted, and that Shakespeare was interested, as was Ben Jonson, in Anglo-Saxon seems highly likely. We must be content, however, with the likelihood that here at last we have a volume that was once actually in the possession of the poet.

# "WHAT ANCIENT GREECE MEANS TO THE MODERN GREEK."[1]

By HIS EXCELLENCY THANASSIS AGHNIDES,
GREEK AMBASSADOR TO THE COURT OF ST. JAMES'S.

ONE could reply to this question from a number of different standpoints.

Is it desired that we should elucidate the thoughts and emotions provoked in a modern Greek by the philosophy of life of his forbears or by their scale of values—social, economic and political? If so, is it enough to analyse the feelings and reflections of the modern Greek intelligentsia and assess their estimate of their ancestors' achievements and of the bearing of those achievements on modern Greeks?

But perhaps the question is a wider one. It is desired probably that we should assess the influence of ancient Greece on modern Greeks as a whole, irrespective of whether the latter belong to the self-conscious and enlightened elements of the population or not. The valuation of the opinion and the feeling of the man in the street is vague and inarticulate and therefore more difficult to ascertain than that of the educated or the sophisticated.

I must consequently endeavour in the treatment of this elusive subject to limit myself to such elements of the problem as are calculable by and perceptible to all Greeks, and therefore not open to serious doubt or controversy.

An arid land sparsely populated split up into numerous valleys separated by rugged mountains, rendering communications difficult; a long and tortuous coastline; a blue sky—blue and unclouded most of the time!—a dry climate, extraordinary effects of light; a very poor soil with inadequate mineral wealth compelling the Greek to derive a poor livelihood from the ungenerous earth and forcing him to seek the necessary comple-

[1] Lecture delivered at the University of Manchester on the 20th of February, 1943.

ment to his meagre revenues from the sea, either as fisherman, or navigator or overseas tradesman.

The scarcity of roads combined with the sterility of the soil, accelerated the process of sea-mindedness and the development of the city states. The difficulty of communications created local particularism and rivalry. The great accessibility of Athens, its central position, the excellence of its port and its immediate dependence on the sea account for some of the essential differences between that city and Sparta. Athens was not secluded like most of the other cities, some of which were situated in deep valleys. The sea saved it from the parochialism of some of the other cities and made of it the promised land of liberty. We have in Athens the first example of a sea power, typical of all sea powers as opposed to continental powers in that the former are propitious to the development of freedom.

In the case of Greece this is particularly so because of the commanding position of Athens in the Greek world and because the poverty of the soil and sub-soil of Greece left to the Greeks only one possibility of enrichment, i.e. by exploitation of the sea. The energies of the Greeks were principally applied to commerce, navigation and international trade. Their wars have been mostly defensive and were almost always carried out in defence of the country and on behalf of its free institutions.

There is a great parallelism between the histories of the maritime powers, if not in detail at least in principle. Greece, Portugal and England have many points in common. All three countries suffered from their continental neighbours: all three turned their backs on their war-like continental neighbours and tried to substitute for their oppressive fear of these neighbours the life-giving breath of the sea, and its boundless freedom and rich prospects. Greece suffered from the North, Portugal and England from the East. No wonder they turned passionately away from the continent and ventured deep into the wide avenues of the seven seas in search of prosperity, freedom and greatness.

Judged against this background the history of Greece remains unchanged and offers the same characteristics as in the olden times. The physical milieu has not changed, the deep blue

sky, the violet-blue waters of the Mediterranean, the valleys, the mountains, the ungenerous soil, the malarial marshes—though these have recently been to a great extent reclaimed—and even the ruthless northern neighbour in a crueller form than ever, all are still there.

Last but not least is the fundamental identity of the language used by modern Greeks and by their ancestors, in spite of certain changes which had inevitably occurred in the connotation of words and in matters of syntax. Words are like human beings, they prosper or they decay. They have a rich hinterland or a narrow one. Some of them are called to an extraordinary career—they grow in importance, they acquire new meanings or shades of meanings throughout the ages and as the process continues they end by meaning something quite different from the original concept which they conveyed at their birth. Νόστιμος is a good example of this metamorphosis (and there are thousands of others). In ancient Greek *νόστιμος* is the adjective meaning belonging to a return home. In modern Greek it means pretty, nice, sweet. Ἀρετή is another case meaning excellence in war. To-day it means virtue. Εὐήθης means well disposed, but also it means silly. In modern Greek it means only simpleton, naive.

The modern Greek, like his ancestor, must work very hard, since he is up against the same geographical difficulties, and the same perils due to his neighbours of the north and west.

With the exception of brief interludes, the life of the ancient Greek was a constant struggle against internal oppression, attacks on his independence, and the fear from want. This is also the lot of the modern Greek, save that it is easier for us to follow blindly the solid tradition left to us by our forefathers in this three-fold crusade.

We may now leave the physical milieu of the Greek—ancient or modern, since they are the same—and explore the incidence of ancient Greek life on modern Greeks in the higher spheres of philosophy, ethics, the sciences, the arts and literature.

Ancient Greece means everything to the modern Greek, and yet the latter is so much the heir to the former and is so much instinct with the traditions of his ancestors that it is difficult for him to consider ancient Greece as a separate entity.

The sense of continuity and unity of the Greek people and of its history is all-pervading. This is due in particular to the amazing strength of tradition marshalled throughout the centuries and which rivet the modern Greek to the old trunk in everything that matters. Our models are our ancestors and the masterpieces they left us. Greek political thought is one uninterrupted tradition, the love of liberty inordinate as in the olden times. Literary and philosophic inspiration is to be found in the masterpieces of the classical epoch. As regards religious life, let us not forget that the New Testament was written in Greek, and most of the principles of Christianity are loans from Greek moral philosophy. Plato's ideas could find no better means of diffusion in the world than the New Testament.

Thus a Greek never feels that the Christian religion is a Jewish gift to the world. When he reads the New Testament he is reminded of the highest precepts of the Greek classical period. Here again the modern Greek is not very conscious of the line of demarcation between the high precepts of Christianity and, let us say, those of Socrates. The latter's principles and those of the Galilean are derived from the same source. The modern Greek is confusedly aware of this.

Let me read you a few lines which will mislead you into thinking I am quoting from the New Testament:

> "Evil has no place in heaven so of necessity it haunts mortal nature and this earthly sphere. Therefore we ought to escape from earth to heaven as quickly as we can; and to escape is to become like God, as far as is possible; and to become like Him is to become holy, just and wise."

The Christian ideals were anticipated very largely by Plato. This holds true particularly as regards the immortality of the soul and the necessity for man to aspire to be like God. The following short extracts illustrate my point: "... either death is a state of nothingness and utter unconsciousness," says Socrates, "or as men say, there is a change and migration of the soul from this world to another."

Socrates enumerates the advantages of this journey to Hades, where one would meet Odysseus, Orpheus, Homer and other distinguished minds, and ends with these words:

> "For besides being happier in that world than in this, they will be immortal, if what is said is true."

The aspect of Greek civilisation seems to be the narrowing down of the distance between Deity and man. The former comes down from His Olympian abode towards man, and the latter is ever anxious to rise to the Olympus. We can find in this process the explanation of some of the chief characteristics of the citizen of Athens: pride, generosity, magnanimity, sobriety, sense of measure and proportion, a strong sense of dignity, courage, sense of justice, love of freedom. The Greek had a clear-cut ideal, a standard of behaviour uncorroded by any doubt as to the value and reality of his social and ethical norms. The above extracts from Plato are an anticipation of the impending advent of the Christian religion. No wonder if the modern Greek mistakes the Christian world for his own. There is indeed very little transition in the passage from the old Platonic ethical precepts to the Christian code of life. The modern Greek may not say it in as many words but he feels the modern ethical standards of the Christian world as being part and parcel of his own heritage, from his classical ancestors.

In the political domain our reactions are similar. Greek civilisation consistently points to the prevalence of mind over matter, of men over their tools. The human being is an end in itself, and it is the duty of the state to aim at the perfection and happiness of the citizen. We may with profit turn to Thucydides for enlightenment on the principles governing the organisation of life within the city:

> "Our constitution is named a democracy because it is not in the hands of the few but of the many. But our laws secure equal justice for all in their private disputes, and our public opinion welcomes and honours talent in every branch of achievement, not for any sectional reason but on grounds of excellence alone. As we give free play to all in our public life, so we carry the same spirit into our daily relations with one another. We have no black looks or angry words for our neighbour if he enjoys himself in his own way. Open and friendly in our private intercourse, in our public acts we keep strictly within the control of law. We acknowledge the restraint of reverence; we are obedient to those in authority and to the laws, more especially to those which offer protection to the oppressed and those unwritten ordinances whose transgression brings admitted shame."

I would venture to ask my distinguished audience if there is anything in these precepts and rules of political conduct

which could not be, even to-day, in this most enlightened of all countries, considered as an ideal worthy of attainment? Indeed, the feeling of the cultivated Greek towards ancient Greece is very much the same as that of a cultivated Englishman, as no country has absorbed and assimilated to the same extent Greek political and ethical ideals. No better compliment can be paid to ancient Greece than to state this fact, viz., that after more than 2000 years these principles have not lost anything of their absolute value as imperative rules of conduct for the citizens of this great democracy, to whom the political leadership of Western Europe is as natural as was to the ancient Greek the leadership of the Mediterranean. These precepts encompassed the continent of Europe first through the diffusion of Christianity and then through the Renaissance. They gave Western Europe a political and ethical backbone and created the intellectual and moral unity of Europe, and the westerly march of Greek ideals still continues triumphant on the other side of the Atlantic and in the entire Anglo-American world.

In the domains of art, science and law highly evolved disciplines developed throughout the centuries bearing the hallmark of the powerful growth of the relevant Greek institutions.

How much the modern world is indebted to the Greeks in these fields is better known in this country than anywhere else. Even in the domain of law—especially commercial law—the ancient Greeks were pioneers, particularly as regards maritime law which they felt was a necessity in the interests of trade between the Greek ports and those of the other riparian States of the Mediterranean.

It is not possible to unfold here the legendary struggles of the ancient Greeks to free men from their material and spiritual shackles. Think of what we owe to the Greek legislators Solon, Pisistratus and others. Solon is one of the earliest benefactors of the family as it is thanks to him that a man's wife and children can no longer be sold into slavery for non-payment of debts. In matters of farming and industry his contribution is notable, and he was one of the earliest democrats, who felt a great and genuine sympathy with the common people. Pisistratus, who thirty years after Solon became Tyrant of Athens, promoted

agriculture and helped the farmers by abolishing the system of Hectemoroi and establishing a uniform tax of 10 per cent. To promote trade he built roads and dotted them with herms (the milestones of the ancient Greeks) representing a likeness of Hermes.

He was a shrewd and practical leader who set up elementary courts corresponding to the modern ' juges de paix ' in France for the settlement of small disputes.

The modern festivals to the wine-god (fêtes des vignerons), a ceremony held in wine-growing districts of France and in the cantons of Vaud, Valais and Neuchatel in Switzerland, have probably their origin in the old Dionysian ceremonies which date from the time of Pisistratus (534 B.C.) and which played such a prominent part in the development of arts, and of the drama in particular. We reach one of the basic landmarks of civilisation when the Dionysiacal and Apollinian aspirations of man found a happy compromise in Athens in the sixth century B.C.

The contribution of Greece to what we call western civilisation is indeed manifold. Centuries before Christianity revealed the character and personality of Christ, classical Greece produced Socrates, whose attitude before his judges reminds us very much of Christ's own ordeals at the hands of His Roman judges. The similarity is still more striking in the way in which both Christ and Socrates accept death.

In vain Crito, in the name of Socrates' disciples, begs him to escape from his prison. Socrates puts aside his pathetic, if tempting, suggestion even though he knows, as do all his disciples, that his condemnation to death is unjust. His ἀρετή " excellence of soul " prevents him from escaping to another city where he might spend his last years in comparative ease. He considers that a citizen's duty to the laws of his country transcends all else—even if those laws are imperfect or imperfectly applied.

" Has a philosopher like you," he says to Crito, " failed to discover that our country is more to be valued, and higher and holier far, than mother or father or any ancestor, and more to be regarded in the eyes of the gods and of men of understanding? "

Having all his life taught his disciples how to live he also showed them how to die. He gave them and posterity an example of how men should save their souls and part with life rather than commit infamy by disobeying the laws of the city. Incidentally he proceeded to elaborate developments in order to establish the sovereignty of the law above the convenience of the citizen. Aristotle expressed a similar principle when he said that "those who would rightly judge must be arbitrators not litigants." This corresponds to the French maxim: "On ne peut être juge et partie."

Socrates goes to his death with lofty detachment, without lamentation or recrimination. By so doing he creates an imperishable tradition which will ever be remembered by the Greek nation. This tradition is at the root of the resurrection of the Greek people as a nation. Often defeated by less civilized people it was never subdued, thanks to this tradition of self-denial remembered in the terrible years of our war of independence, and very recently, when in October 1940 they were temptingly invited to accept material advantages at the expense of honour. Their reply was Hellenic in substance and in form, uncompromising and full of dignity. The same proud reply was given to the Germans in April 1941 though every Greek knew that resistance to Hitler's mechanized hordes meant utter destruction.

What does ancient Greece mean to the modern Greek? It means a spontaneous obedience to the traditions of our forefathers, crystallized through 3000 years of history. These habits of mind and emotion, marshalled through legend and history, speak to our imagination and emotion and also to our reason. Every modern Greek experiences the thrill of such names as: Achilles, Ulysses, Plato, Aristotle, Homer, Hesiod, Sophocles, Pindarus, Euripides; or again: Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Platea. The modern counterpart of these names to the modern Greek is the epic of the Pindus mountain written in 1940-41. History and legend, intermingled and inseparable, are equally treasured by the modern Greek, whose emotions are always roused by these names which are very much alive for us and mould our particular national personality.

The continuity of the Greek tradition is such as to make it difficult for a modern Greek to detect a line of demarcation between the ancestral and the actual. The olive industry, which throve on the mainland and in the islands, especially in those of Miletus and Chios, at the time of Pisistratus—as also the olive-presses—are the same to-day, thanks to the constancy of tradition. Civic devotion, public spirit, patriotism, loyalty to the family, are all part of the legacy of ancient Greece. What ancient Greece means to the modern Greek is illustrated by the power of the classical tradition on the modern Greek. Marathon and Salamis are responsible for and explain the epic of the Albanian campaign. We would not have been capable of the superhuman effort involved in this had it not been for the overwhelming power of tradition.

The old tradition is rich and pervades the life of the modern Greek. It enabled him to strengthen it by the addition of Pindus to the already glorious list.

Let us now take some extraordinary types of manhood and womanhood—Achilles, Ulysses, Penelope, Helen, Telemachus.

Here again the patterns are in sharp relief like a newly-coined medal from the mint. Achilles, the fearless and indomitable young warrior; Ulysses, the wise man of maturer years—daring, resourceful, respectful of God, subtle in mind and action, knowing precisely where the dividing line between the possible and the impossible lies, devoted to his friends and to the fellow-warriors, courageous and never despairing in spite of the most adverse circumstances, nimble in action and thought, devoted to his family—to his wife Penelope, to his son Telemachus, and to his old father—to his faithful servants, to old Eumaeus, to his subjects and to his dogs. The Odyssey is perhaps the most complete drama in that the tale of Ulysses' trials in his wanderings and the domestic tragedy of the swaggering suitors plotting to kill Telemachus while trying to conquer Penelope's heart, are so well-balanced that though the work is endowed with extraordinary unity it contains two distinct dramas, the one showing how Ulysses in his wanderings after the Trojan war escaped numberless perils when his courage and optimism were sustained by the yearning of one day seeing

his beloved family again ; the other, how, when at last he reaches Ithaca, he realizes the deadly calamity threatening the house of Arceisius, how his dear wife is in danger of being taken away from him and his son Telemachus threatened with murder. The denouement is a real climax when he, with the help of Telemachus, destroys the suitors and saves his honour, his family and his kingdom. Let us now consider Penelope, the perfect wife, faithful beyond human conventions, full of resource in the unequal contest against her suitors, yet she is rewarded for her faithfulness and her boundless ingenuity in gaining time over the suitors until Ulysses reaches Ithaca and slays the insolent gang of Antinous and his confederates.

We might take other types of Greek womanhood and dwell on their merits, as, for instance, Helen, the wise, discreet, the tactful and divinely lovely, or Nausicaa with her maiden splendour, her regal dignity, her fearlessness, and her friendliness to her guests.

These are patterns, and I might multiply them in order more adequately to reply to the question which is the subject of my address : What does ancient Greece mean to the modern Greek? It means the attraction towards a noble ideal, as citizen, as thinker, as warrior, as philosopher, as poet, as husband, as wife, as son, as servant. It means an irresistible tradition binding on the modern Greeks, on the good and on the bad, compelling them to do their duty to their family, their country and to themselves. It sets them a very high standard, which modern Greeks wish to maintain and, if possible, to augment, as was the case in the winter and spring of 1940-41.

The task is hard and we modern Greeks feel the weight of the effort which is expected of us. To be the heirs of so much glory, so much splendour, puts us in a very embarrassing predicament. It is like being the son of a genius—one is in the limelight, much too much is expected of one, and any shortcomings pardonable in the ordinary man are noted and emphasized in the heir to a glorious past.

We modern Greeks do not complain of this and are prepared to make the effort in order, as far as is possible, to live up to the standards of our ancestors. We even feel it incumbent

upon us to add our contribution to the wealth of Hellenic civilization if we are spared these periodic wars which are thrust upon us by wicked neighbours and ambitious maniacs.

Here again let us comply with the message of ancient Greece, let us listen to the undying appeal of Pericles and bring to a final conclusion these periodic Peloponnesian wars which threaten to stamp out our common heritage, Western civilization—an enriched edition of the legacy of Greece.

A dazzling picture of superhuman perfection ; a storehouse of knowledge ; a rich vocabulary of human values in the city and in the world ; 3000 years of continuous endeavour towards building up a system of inter-related values tending towards the perfection of the citizen and the city ; a constant effort to create a plausible pattern of life for the citizen, creating definite landmarks between his prerogatives and his duties ; setting him an aim worthy of attainment : the good life of the greatest number—such was the goal to be attained by the Greek State. In other words, Greek society was animated by a high moral purpose in that it set itself an aim leading to the true and the beautiful, to the happiness of the greatest number. This is in brief what ancient Greece means to the modern Greek :

> **An inexhaustible source of inspiration in all circumstances. Whenever the modern Greek knows he has responded to the urge of the Hellenic tradition he is at peace with himself whatever the cost. In the literary and artistic treasure-house of Ancient Greece we modern Greeks find our categorical imperatives.**

# BROWNING AS POET OF RELIGION.[1]

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IT may seem impertinent for a layman, untrained in philosophical technique and entirely ignorant of formal theology, to hazard the matter of this lecture. But a lover of Browning cannot help himself. By temperament Browning was fundamentally religious: the primary elements in his own spiritual personality were "a most clear idea of consciousness

> Of self, distinct from all its qualities,
> From all affections, passions, feelings, powers",

and, side by side with this, "a need, a trust, a yearning after God". A lifetime's experience deepened his sense of these forces as the mainsprings of the history of his soul; and as his poetry is the record of his experiences in watching incidents in the development of souls, it is not unjust to regard the whole bulk of it as a presentation of a vast variety of men and women each man seeking to realise himself in satisfying his yearning after God. To that extent all his poetry is bound up with his religion. Moreover, as this religious predominance is the outcome of Browning's personality, it might well have prevailed through his writings had he not happened to be a Victorian. But his times increased the significance of his native preoccupations. They bristled with tumults in the spiritual world. Broadly speaking, the complacent theism of the eighteenth century receded. Though to some extent it was carried over into the utilitarian scheme of ideas, to lead on again, with science apparently at odds with religion, into agnosticism, yet complacency was no mark of any of its camps of belief or disbelief. Religion really mattered. Within the churches, Keble's sermon on National Apostacy, delivered in 1833, began the Oxford Movement, as, in a way, a period of it is marked by Newman's

[1] An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 9th of October, 1940.

*Apologia* in 1864-65. Nonconformity responded to fresh impulses; the Congregational Union of England and Wales was founded in 1832. And there were Strauss and Renan. Unitarianism was chosen by many who found Comte's Positivism too formal or too continental for the English mind and habit. Behind these ecclesiastical and denominational activities, there was the tremendous impact of secular thought, scientific in its major interest, but inevitably exciting immense repercussions in the field of religion. The study of geology and biology made large progress in the century; and Lyell's *Principles of Geology* (1830-33), Robert Chambers's *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (1844) and, above all, Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) made it wellnigh impossible to accept the Bible story of creation. Literary scholarship, in the meantime, by submitting Holy Writ to the technique adopted for secular documents, seemed still further to impugn the authority of the Bible. Clearly, then, the Victorian era throbbed with religious problems. So far as these can be simplified into a related pattern, they may be thought of as mainly affecting three or four major issues. Was there room any longer for God in the universe which was being unfolded by the scientists? Did the implicit materialism of their science bar out everything 'supernatural'? If miracles were to disappear, was revelation nothing more than a hallucination? How indeed, if God was not entirely denied, was he to be known? What authority was there for this Christian God, and what was the supreme role of Christ in Christianity? What was the place of Christianity in the history of religions? Finally, within the Christian fellowship, what was for man the best way of worship and of life?

These are the questions which Browning saw as the most urgent problems of his spiritual life, and that, of course, means of the whole of his moral and religious life. Explicitly or implicitly they press into his poems; and philosophers and theologians have ransacked his volumes to expound Browning's religious beliefs. They have done so with wide professional knowledge and often with exquisite skill in interpretation; in particular, Sir Henry Jones's *Browning as a Philosophical and Religious Teacher* is a masterpiece of exposition. But the wealth

of their philosophical and theological learning is apt to distort or to blunt the object. Browning was no academic philosopher and only an amateur theologian. Moreover, the more philosophic and the more theological he became, the more did he smother his own unique gift, his poetic genius. Yet it is my profound belief—and the grounds of it I will not inflict on you again at this point, since all my Rylands Lectures have adverted to it, and in several of them I have tried to expound it at length—it is my profound belief that the poet's way to philosophical and theological truth is not the philosopher's nor the theologian's, but that nevertheless, it has a validity of its own, and is most valid where the poet is most poetic. In this lecture, therefore, I propose to follow my customary procedure. I choose from Browning's poems those that the world recognises as poetic masterpieces ; I deal in particular with such of these masterpieces as are more rather than less expressly religious in their themes, and I ask myself what apprehension of religion does the poet reveal here ? I hope in that way to get a comprehensive view of Browning's sense of religion and religious values ; and I attempt then to see what part it plays in the whole of his artistic life, that is, to see how it comes to penetrate the whole range of his poetry.

Without anticipating Browning's answers to the questions I suggested as the ones which religion forced on him most urgently, it can be safely and summarily said that the creed he reached is surprisingly simple. He believed in God, first realised as a God of Power, and then revealed as a God of Love ; he believed in Christ as literally the Son of God, and, if the expression is not improper, in the Incarnation as the one essential 'miracle', as it was also the most essential 'revelation' ; he believed profoundly in the human spirit's access to God by 'inspiration' ; and he believed in personal immortality. These are the major articles of Browning's faith and the hundreds of others which have excited seminaries through the centuries were to him of very little personal significance. It is not surprising therefore that few of his poems have a specifically doctrinal theme. Indeed, in the strictly limited sense, religion, it could be said, provides him with the subject for very few

poems indeed, and all these appeared between 1850 and 1870 (except *La Saisiaz* (1878) which poetically is Browning the poet grandly declining into Browning the argumentative versifier). Of course, as the theme of the three long poems of his apprenticeship, *Pauline*, *Paracelsus*, and *Sordello* is man endeavouring to put himself at rights with God and the world, these poems may be called religious; they are, however, the experimental expression of an immature Browning, and their main concern is with the moral and psychological adventure of man seeking himself. In the formal dramas, too, even in *The Last of the Druses* which has a nominally religious theme, interest naturally ranges much more within the ways of men with men than towards the relationship of man to God. When Browning made his great artistic discovery, the dramatic lyric, he had found the poetic instrument which would enable him to capture and reflect the tones, the colours, and the values of life as his intuitive apprehension grasped them. But expressly religious poems do not immediately begin to press into his portraits of men and women. Two of the grotesques he depicts in the *Dramatic Lyrics* (1842), the malevolent monk of *The Soliloquy of a Spanish Cloister*, and the fanatic *Johannes Agricola* are, so to speak, accidentally religious in their stage-circumstance. In the *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics* (1845), religious institutions provide such stagings even more richly and produce the Grand Guignol *Confessional* and the tragi-comic *Tomb at St. Praxed's*. The volume also has *Saul*, but it is only the first half of the poem now known by that title; and though it is, of course, Biblical in subject, it is merely psychotherapy in theme. In the next few years and partly through his marriage to Elizabeth Barrett, Browning's religious sentiments became more urgent and more articulate, by how much may be measured from the transformed *Saul* of *Men and Women* (1855). In the meantime, in 1850, Browning published *Christmas Eve and Easter-Day*, two pendant poems, even in form addressed explicitly to religious themes. The biggest gathering of religious poems, however, is in *Men and Women* (1855). Besides one or two more dramatic studies in ecclesiastical settings, *The Heretic's Tragedy*, or the baffled organist of *Master Hughes of Saxe-Gotha*, or the jovial frolics

of monk *Lippo Lippi*, there is a sort of general back-cloth (*Old Pictures in Florence*) symbolically presenting the Greek pagan mind through its classical statuary, with Christian spiritual longings caught as they emerged faintly and clumsily in early Renaissance paintings. Closer still to specifically doctrinal problems is *Bishop Blougram's Apology*, depicting very human and secular grounds of doubt as the basis of orthodox dogma. *Holy-Cross Day* depicts St. Peter's at Rome on the day set aside for the conversion of such Jews of Rome as might be persuaded or bribed or compelled to be converts ; it rises from hilarious low-comedy to a passionate affirmation of the superiority of the spirit of religion to all outward profession of it. But the three great religious poems of the collection are *Cleon*, *The Strange Epistle of Karshish*, and the completed *Saul*, in which the prevailing conceptions of immortality and the Incarnation as intimations or revelations of the God of Love show Browning's imagination realising the main tenets of his faith. The next volume *Dramatis Personæ* (1864) extends the theme somewhat, but does not alter the substantial values. *Caliban upon Setebos* still further exposes the imperfections of 'natural' religion, and its God of mere Power. *Abt Vogler* illustrates a human, artistic way of experiencing God, and *A Death in the Desert* dramatises St. John in old age testifying as a personal witness to the miracle of Christ. Lastly, in the poems shaped whilst Browning's poetic genius inspired his creations, there is the religion of characters like Pompilia and Caponsacchi in *The Ring and the Book*, and the majestic survey of the meaning of religion in life uttered in meditation by the old Pope, Antonio Pignatelli, the Pope of *The Ring and The Book*.

The most frequently recurring *motif* of the poems just named is that of God as the God of Love, and of the direct consequences of this doctrine as it affects God's way with man ; Christ is the veritable pledge of his Love, and immortality is its inevitable consequence. It will be noted at once that Browning is little concerned with institutional worship, sacrament and ceremony, or with ecclesiastical questions of creed, ritual or government in general. His most deeply religious character is his Pope, his most purely religious, a simple Catholic

wife ; but in their portraits nothing exclusively Roman Catholic is present except where dramatically necessary. His representation of the religious sentiment in its most fervent conviction of trust in God is in the Jews singing under their breath Ben Ezra's song whilst they are supposed to be listening to a worldly prelate in St. Peter's. His picture of the sublimest innocence of faith in God is again a young Italian Roman Catholic girl, Pippa. Browning is no denominationalist. He was born a Nonconformist, and he remained literally a true Nonconformist. Religion was an intensely personal matter. One of his poems, *Christmas Eve*, is a view of three modes of the religious life. A wet evening finds him with a tin-tabernacle conventicle of austere, forbidding, and even revolting nonconformity as his only shelter from the storm. He very soon has enough of it, and seeks the wet night as a refuge. Thence he is magically transported to a solemn festival in St. Peter's, and is by turns enthralled and repelled by the ceremonial display. Lastly, his supernatural guide wafts him to a Higher-Critical theological seminar in Göttingen, where he hears a learned professorial discourse on Christ the man and the growth of the legend of the God Christ. At the end, he summarily compares these three representatives of nineteenth-century religion. The only one of the three outside his sympathy is the unitarianism of the professor :

> No mere exposition of morality
> Made or in part or in totality,
> Should win you to give it worship.
>
> * * * * * * * *
>
> Morality to the uttermost,
> Supreme in Christ as we all confess,
> Why need we prove would avail no jot
> To make him God, if God he were not ?
> What is the point where himself lays stress ?
> Does the precept run " Believe in good,
> " In justice, truth, now understood
> " For the first time ? "—or, " Believe in me,
> " Who lived and died, yet essentially
> " Am Lord of Life ? " Whoever can take
> The same to his heart and for mere love's sake
> Conceive of the love,—that man obtains
> A new truth ; no conviction gains
> Of an old one only, made intense
> By a fresh appeal to his faded sense.

His musings on the celebration of the Roman mass run into historical rumination on the ways of the mediæval church, and he reaches a mood of benevolent tolerance. He sees in the church the symbol of Europe's and Christianity's infancy and its childlike instinctive acceptance of Love :

> As a babe can find its mother's breast
> As well in darkness as in light,
> Love shut our eyes, and all seemed right.
> True, the world's eyes are open now ;
> —Less need for me to disallow
> Some few that keep Love's zone unbuckled,
> Peevish as ever to be suckled,
> Lulled by the same old baby-prattle
> With intermixture of the rattle,
> When she would have them creep, stand steady
> Upon their feet, or walk already,
> Not to speak of trying to climb.
> * * * * * * * * *
> So, I summed up my new resolves :
> Too much love there can never be.
> And where the intellect devolves
> Its function in love exclusively,
> I, a man who possesses both,
> Will accept the provision, nothing loth,
> —Will feast my love, then depart elsewhere,
> That my intellect may find its share.

Finally, he is back with his horrible memories of Zion Chapel Meeting, the hot greasy smells of its congregation, and their preaching-man's immense stupidity. In the end he is reconciled to all this sectarian Protestantism except its exclusiveness :

> But alas for the excellent earnestness,
> And the truths, quite true if stated succinctly,
> But as surely false, in their quaint presentment,
> However to pastor and flock's contentment !
> Say, rather, such truths looked false to your eyes,
> With his provings and parallels twisted and twined,
> Till how could you know them, grown double their size
> In the natural fog of the good man's mind ? . . .
> Truth remains true, the fault's in the prover ;
> The zeal was good, and the aspiration . . .
> These people have really felt, no doubt,
> A something, the motion they style the Call of them ;
> And this is their method of bringing about,
> By a mechanism of words and tones.
> (So many texts in so many groans)

A sort of reviving and reproducing
More or less perfectly, (who can tell?)
The mood itself, which strengthens by using . . .
Still, why paint over their door "Mount Zion",
To which all flesh shall come, saith the prophecy?

But he elects Mount Zion Chapel as his church;

I put up pencil, and join chorus
To Hepzibah Tune, without further apology,
The last five verses of the third section
Of the seventeenth hymn of Whitfield's Collection,
To conclude with the doxology!

This is an explicit distinction of values; in religion, beyond all price is perception of Love as the divine nature.

The argument brings us at once to *The Strange Epistle of Karshish*, the first of Browning's poems in which poetry is making a completely authentic and distinctively poetic contribution to humanity's stock of religious cognition. In *Christmas Eve* Browning remains the man with an imaginative gift deploying that gift to represent modes of religious experience; then, as thinking man, he takes his choice, depending in the act of choice on the dual functions, intermittently or simultaneously, of Kantian reason and understanding. But in *Karshish* he is pure poet, seeking, moreover, a purely æsthetic contribution to his readers' apprehensiveness, though knowing, of course, that that state of mind and feeling induced in them will later be amenable to their other cognitive needs.

In *Karshish*, Browning is making a series of mere assertions about an imaginary creature. He is not arguing; he is seeking to prove nothing. He is simply trying to present æsthetically, in this case, dramatically, a frame of mind and feeling induced in a particular person by certain particular circumstances. His whole object is to make his readers experience that frame of mind and feeling—a poet's task. His choice of person, time and circumstance is characteristic. To Browning's sense of history, that is, of the record of the development of the human soul, there were two crucial moments of time when decisive departures inaugurated transforming revolutions in this story. The first and the greatest was the birth of Christ; less than that in absolute power, but next to it in its initiation of new develop-

ments, was the Renaissance. The first decisive moment, the coming of Christ, taught the world the religion of love; thus, it re-orientated the first of the primary impulses which formed Browning's consciousness of life, the yearning after God. The second, the Renaissance, extended and redirected the other of these two primary impulses, the consciousness of self. Hence so many of Browning's poems are built on themes or situations drawn from these decisive historic moments, the emergence of the Christian era and the flush of the Renaissance. If there are more Renaissance figures than early Christians, it is because the Renaissance situation took over the gains of the earlier and more fundamental revolution, and added to it the infinite variety of application amongst myriads of beings whose distinctive personalities were now seen participating in the unity of the divine plan by their very diversity.

Like *Cleon* and *A Death in the Desert*, *Karshish* is enacted in the crucial generations when the pre-Christian, Jewish-Oriental civilisation and mind were rapidly passing into the Christian epoch. In *Cleon*, the period is of the same date, but the passing age is the classical Greek era; in *A Death in the Desert*, similarly timed in history, it is a Greco-Oriental Hellenist age which is to change to the new Christian world; in *Saul*, time is side-tracked, and David is allowed a prophetic foresight of the transformation of Judaism into Christianity. And three of these are Browning's great religious poems.

*Karshish* is a representative of Arabic pre-Christian knowledge; he is the scientist of his day and with orthodox ease holds the traditional religious and theological notions of his inheritance. They are part of his conscious and subconscious mentality. He is on a scientist's vacation excursion, travelling in Palestine, and reporting regularly to his revered academic chief on his botanical, medical, and biological observations. The trip has been fraught with hazards. Palestine is not exactly organised for 'tourisme', and in addition there is the sporadic lawlessness of unsettled times when a hostile invasion is the unsettling intrusion. The Roman armies are invading Palestine. So this picker-up of learning's crumbs, not incurious in all God's handiwork, and especially apt to see men as man's-flesh

kneaded like a paste to keep down for a space that puff of vapour from God's mouth which is man's soul, reports to his professor, Abib, all sagacious in the medical art, recording everything which in Abib's wisdom may be found serviceable to medical studies. He had last written from Jericho; his short journey thence to Jerusalem has been particularly obstructed by the chances of travel, and he has only reached Bethany, where he is meagrely lodged, and almost too tired to resume his reports. But accident, and his medical knowledge, have provided him with a postman; hence, though too tired to sort out things worth reporting, and too liable to let immediate impressions bulk too largely in an exhausted mind, he will set oddments down in a letter. So his observations are jotted haphazard; a novel gum-tragacanth, for instance, and a curious kind of leprosy. But his tired mind is obviously mainly distracted by something or other in recent experiences which has impressed him more than in reason it ought to have done. He is reluctant to mention it; but after apologies, imagined by Browning with magnificently adroit dramatic sense, he blurts out the story. He has heard of, and then interviewed, Lazarus, miraculously raised from the dead, or so Lazarus says. Karshish, of course, does not believe the diagnosis. Lazarus must have been in an epileptic trance, and physicians have remedies for these. But his interview with Lazarus has revealed an amazing feature of the cure. By some unknown means, which it were well to know, the physician has awakened him, and entirely renewed, that is, made really new, Lazarus's soul, so that Lazarus faces the world now with an almost grotesquely unusual and quite unintelligible sense of values. The world's big and little have no meaning for him—

> "He holds on firmly to some thread of life—
> (It is the life to lead perforcedly)
> Which runs across some vast distracting orb
> Of glory on either side that meagre thread,
> Which conscious of, he must not enter yet—
> The spiritual life around the earthly life."

It is the more perturbing to a diagnostician because Lazarus is clearly no fool. He says he has for a time enjoyed another life, life with God. Of course, says the tired medical student, there

must be some scientific explanation ; and he must have missed something in the accumulation of this record of symptoms. No doubt, too, the immense impression it has made on him will disappear like a nightmare when sleep and rest have restored his mind to normal scientific activity. But there it is ; and may his professor not think too ill of this intellectual aberration he has committed. He has, of course, thought of cross-examining the leech who did the cure ; but, like all great discoverers, the leech has been put to death through the ignorance and superstitition of his countrymen, accused of wizardry, rebellion, the setting up a rule and creed " prodigious as described to me ". Prodigious and incredible, because this leech had apparently accepted Lazarus's attribution to him of divinity.

> ' This man so cured regards the curer, then,
> As,—God forgive me ! who but God himself,
> Creator and sustainer of the world,
> That came and dwelt in flesh on it awhile '
> —' Sayeth that such an one was born and lived,
> Taught, healed the sick, broke bread at his own house,
> Then died.'

But this is nightmare settling to insanity. Why write of such trivial matters, the clear consequence of an exhausted traveller's brain ? Return to things which really matter—

> ' I noticed on the margin of a pool
> Blue-flowering borage, the Aleppo sort,
> Aboundeth, very nitrous.'

Yet, and yet, " it is very strange ! " Karshish cannot suppress his nervous excitement. His mind is reeling, not under the strain of nervous exhaustion, but under the impact of a notion of Godhead which revolutionises his sense of the universe.

> " The very God ! think, Abib ; dost thou think ? "

Will Abib, in fact, merely speculatively explore the implications of the new notion ? It would imply a new Universe with illimitable alterations in schemes of human values. Hence the awe of Karshish—

> " The very God ! think, Abib ; dost thou think ?
> So, the All-Great were the All-Loving too—
> So, through the thunder comes a human voice,
> Saying, ' O heart I made, a heart beats here.'

> Face, my hands fashioned, see it in myself !
> Thou hast no power nor mayst conceive of mine,
> But love I gave thee, with myself to love,
> And thou must love me who have died for thee ! "
> The madman saith He said so : it is strange.

That, in *The Strange Epistle of Karshish*, is Browning the dramatist's contribution to humanity's religious cognition. He excites dramatically a participation in Karshish's stupor at the contemplation of a new notion of God, of his shock at facing the vast implications of a God who was the God of Power, revealing himself now as no less the God of Love. There is no argument about the philosophic validity of the new notion. It is merely a presentation of the spiritual experience, the human reaction, consequent on apprehending a new conception of God. The awe of it, transmitted by the poet, is the real significance of the poem ; it is the feeling of the stupendous enlargement now given to speculations about man's destiny. That is the poet's way of increasing man's awareness of life and its mysteries and its certainties. For Browning, there was sufficient evidence, the historic incarnation, to transmute this speculation of Karshish into verity. But in the meantime, let us turn to other poems in which the way towards this acceptance is being prepared.

*Cleon* equally powerfully presents an apprehension which can only find intellectual satisfaction in the notion that the All-Great must be the All-Loving too. But Cleon's traditional mentality prevents his enjoying Karshish's speculative excitement. He has not had Karshish's personal experience ; moreover, his own traditional philosophy is unsympathetic to cataclysmic occurrences ; he can only express the tragedy of a life, destined to ultimate frustration, which nevertheless in mere speculation might have been provided with the indispensable means to absolute fruition. Here again, in *Cleon*, it is Browning the poet who is shaping the poem. But Cleon, the Greek thinker, is depicted in a state of being in which thinking philosophically and feeling humanly are inseparable activities of merely being alive. So there is much more argumentation than in *Karshish ;* but it is thought prompted by feeling, by intuitions and ratiocinations occasioned by circumstances pre-

sented both by event and by contemplation, which forms the essentially dramatic or æsthetic structure of the poem, the compelling architecture of its æsthetic shape and function. It has its being and its worth as a poem.

Hence the imaginative luxuriance of the scenic setting. The sensation of existence in the luxury provided by national or universal recognition of supreme attainment is indispensable to the dramatic realisation of Cleon's frame of mind. Hence the intoxication of the scene as the curtain rises

> from the sprinkled isles,
> Lily on lily, that o'erlace the sea,
> And laugh their pride, when the light wave lisps 'Greece'.

This sunlit, sea-cooled splendour of nature's scenario for human happiness is enhanced to opulence by the exquisite refinements contributed to it by human artifice as tokens of Cleon's right to enjoy the full delights of a terrestrial paradise. Protus, a Grecian King, desires advice from Cleon. The emissary is royally provided with offerings appropriately symbolising Cleon's place in the mind and the civilisation of his day.

> They give thy letter to me, even now:
> I read and seem as if I heard thee speak.
> The master of thy galley still unlades
> Gift after gift; they block my court at last,
> And pile themselves along its portico
> Royal with sunset, like a thought of thee.
> And one white she-slave from the group dispersed
> Of black and white slaves (like the chequer-work
> Pavement, at once my nation's work and gift,
> Now covered with this settle-down of doves),
> One lyric woman, in her crocus vest,
> Woven of sea-wools, with her two white hands
> Commends to me the strainer and the cup
> Thy lip hath bettered ere it blesses mine.

Here is indeed the symbolic representation of Greek thought in its triumphs; nature, human and natural, munificently provides the seemingly complete resources through which human happiness, the sensuous appreciation of joy in ultimate attainment is to be secured. Cleon seems to symbolise the triumph of the Greek mind in its encounter with life. And unless one enters imaginatively into this promise of paradise one misses the point of Browning's poem as a poet's contribution to

our religious cognition. For despite all appearances, Cleon's joy is specious. In apparent triumph, he is indeed a desperate failure: the extent of the failure is only to be measured in human notations by an imaginative capacity to realise its seeming success, a sense of the almost complete gratification which life has appeared to hold out to Cleon, but an expectation which finds itself doomed to tragic disappointment.

Cleon divulges the grounds of his annihilating despair in his responses to Protus's queries. He accepts the Platonic scales of noblest human worth; he, Cleon, a lover of wisdom and a votary of the Muses, is fittingly and munificently recognised as amongst those foremost in human ranking; and Protus has the authentic soul of those who are next in worth, the spirit of a right ruler over men. Both, too, as signal examples of their hierarchical order, have merited the traditional though hazy reward, a claim to attain to " where Zeus lives most ", to a vague impersonal perpetuation " within the eventual element of calm ". Yet both are forlorn.

Protus has expressed his own sense of frustration, and is envious of the satisfying achievements of Cleon. Cleon does not deny the achievements. He is indubitably the perfected artist-soul, poet, painter, sculptor and musician all at once. In brief, all arts are his. The universal recognition of this supremacy is not wrong, although in no one of the arts is he so obviously supreme as separate artists of the past have been in their own single and separate arts. For the principle of life is the impulse to comprise diversities in unity—in the earlier phases, to carry units to their potential perfection, and then, later, to weld those units progressively into a larger unified organism, which in time will attain its own perfection and completion. Cleon, artist and thinker, feels life to be growth; he sees growth to be progress, a process of evolution, and therefore he finds it an *élan vital* towards perfection or completion. He accepts a plausible reconciliation between notions of progressive evolution and final attainment or perfection as the controlling laws of existence, but he is intellectually only partly aware of the difficulties involved in his solution. He recognises the clash of the disparate concepts; but thinks that whereas

the unphilosophic vulgar may be beaten by the problem, his resolution of the relative and the absolute into a satisfactory unity is philosophically valid, and is not incompatible with other demands which must be satisfied by a universe if it is to be found as a divine ordination acceptable to men. He is so satisfied that he can imagine his own speculative presentation of the scheme of things as a veritable revelation from an authentic emissary of God himself,—

> Long since, I imaged, wrote the fiction out,
> That he [i.e. Zeus], or other god descended here
> And, once for all, showed simultaneously
> What, in its nature, never can be shown
> Piecemeal or in succession ; showed, I say,
> The worth both absolute and relative
> Of all his children from the birth of time,
> His instruments for all appointed work.

He knew, of course, that his story of a personal deputy of God, miraculously, once only, and once for all, sent to earth to assure men, once for all, of the plan of God's providence was a mere fiction. But he felt that if such an occurrence were ever to be authentic, it would be the corner-stone of belief, uncontrovertible, final and absolute in its meaning. It would dispose of the riddle of the Universe for everybody ; in the meantime, he had disposed of it for himself. But in fact, he was to find that he had not grasped the incompatibility between the demands of the relative and of the absolute. His mind found a philosophic answer which his experience invalidated. It is Browning's presentation of the imperfection of the Greek view of life. It found a specious unity in a sophistical accommodation of contraries ; it gave temporary satisfaction to the mind and starved the soul. The starved soul rebelled in the end and demanded sustenance unprovided by Greek thought. Cleon is a man in the throes of this discontent. He is convinced that the divine law for all life is progress to a richer life ; in nature and especially in nature co-operating with that development of it which is human intelligence, evolution to a higher state has obviously become the ' natural ' process. Surely then this natural law is also the law of human life : and Cleon seems to be the symbol of its fulfilment. Protus believes him to have reached the joy of

this satisfaction. So, from the depths of dissatisfaction in his own apparent triumph, Protus appeals to Cleon for help. All Protus's achievement is temporary; he himself will pass, his life

> Complete and whole now in its power and joy,
> Dies altogether with my brain and arm,
> Is lost indeed.

Cleon, he imagines, will live on in the poems of his which men will sing when Cleon has gone, and so death has no like fears for him. But Cleon opens his heart in reply. His state is even more desperate than that of Protus. There is a fundamental delusion in the complacency based on deductions that the natural law of evolutionary progress is applicable in its kind to the development of the soul towards its own perfection. In the ascending hierarchy of animate life, man transcends the animal only by his gift of conscious mind. As a creature of God, he is, in the natural hierarchy, a stage beyond the beasts and the birds. They, lacking mind, are unconsciously carefree; he has the capacity to realise happiness as conscious joy. He is endowed with a quality within his soul—

> Which, intro-active, made to supervise
> And feel the force it has, may view itself
> And so be happy. Man might live at first
> The animal life: but is there nothing more?
> In due time, let him critically learn
> How he lives; and the more he gets to know
> Of his own life's adaptabilities,
> The more joy-giving will his life become.

But that is the delusion. Only on a scheme of things like this can man's mind find a satisfying God in creation. Yet experience gives it the lie. Only in theory is progress as life's law realised in the life of the soul. In experience, progress precludes the satisfaction in man of those very elements by virtue of which he is held to represent an advance in the scheme of things.

> In man, there's failure, only since he left
> The lower and inconscious forms of life.
> We call it an advance, the rendering plain
> Man's spirit might grow conscious of man's life,
> And, by new lore so added to the old,
> Take each step higher over the brute's head.
> This grew the only life, the pleasure-house,

Watch-tower and treasure-fortress of the soul
Which whole surrounding flats of natural life
Seemed only fit to yield subsistence to ;
A tower that crowns a country.

But alas, that is where all feasible theories of life (all theories, that is, accessible to Cleon and the Greeks of the pre-Christian world) are invalidated by the experience of living.

But alas,
The soul now climbs it just to perish there !
For thence we have discovered ('tis no dream—
We know this, which we had not else perceived)
That there's a world of capability
For joy, spread round about us, meant for us,
Inviting us ; and still the soul craves all,
And still the flesh replies, " Take no jot more
Than ere thou clombs't the tower to look abroad !
Nay, so much less as that fatigue has brought
Deduction to it." We struggle, fain to enlarge
Our bounded physical recipiency,
Increase our power, supply fresh oil to life,
Repair the waste of age and sickness : no,
It skills not ! life's inadequate to joy,
As the soul sees joy, tempting life to take . . .
And so a man can use but a man's joy
While he sees God's.

Hence the theological problem. What is the purpose of God in creating the universe of nature and of man ?

Is it for Zeus to boast
" See, man, how happy I live, and despair—
That I may be still happier—for thy use ? "

But this Lotos-Eaters' theology is not for a philosopher like Cleon.

If this were so, we could not thank our Lord,
As hearts beat on to doing ; 'tis not so.

The demands of instinct and reason would, in that case, be too flagrantly at odds. Certainly, " malice it is not ".

Is it carelessness ?
Still, no. If care,—where is the sign, I ask ?
And get no answer, and agree in sum,
O king, with thy profound discouragement,
Who seest the wider, but to sigh the more.

Wherefore he concurs with Protus in the tragic impasse :

Most progress is most failure.

In his own despondency, Protus had imagined that for Cleon some special artist's joy might have provided a transcendent compensation for this dilemma, some state of exalted experience in which life's failure to gratify the apparently necessary demands of mind might find a higher solution, and death be fitted in to a system satisfying these needs of the soul. But Cleon disposes even of this faint hope of consolation. Protus is verily tripping upon a word, confounding the accurate view of what joy is, with *feeling* joy. The artist's fate is even worse than the king's; for the artist's capacity for imagining possible joys increases his distress at his diminishing capability for actually enjoying.

> Say rather that my fate is deadlier still,
> In this, that every day my sense of joy
> Grows more acute, my soul (intensified
> By power and insight) more enlarged, more keen;
> While every day my hairs fall more and more,
> My hand shakes, and the heavy years increase—
> The horror quickening still from year to year,
> The consummation coming past escape
> When I shall know most, and yet least enjoy—
> When all my works wherein I prove my worth,
> Being present still to mock me in men's mouths,
> Alive still, in the praise of such as thou,
> I, I the feeling, thinking, acting man,
> The man who loved this life so over-much,
> Sleep in my urn.

That is Cleon's tragic dilemma, the debacle, to Browning, of the Greek variety of pre-Christian philosophy. It divided man against himself, setting his mind against his intuition. It had grasped large parts of truth, but it had narrowed truth to an exclusively intellectual criterion which the experience of living did not substantiate. It recognised progress, but stultified it by the constraint of a too easy, too premature, too verbal, and too abstract connotation of the overriding concept of Perfection. It over-valued the absolute at the expense of the relative; it was too philosophic, and too unrealistic. Ironically, in view of our academic terminology, it was too inhuman and too inhumane. Through its acceptance of progress or evolution as a natural law, it glimpsed benignity amongst the attributes of God; it reached the fringe of a conception of God as a God of Love; but it stopped on the threshold. A God of Love was indeed

an intellectual necessity of its philosophical world-order, a solvent of its speculative or theoretic incompatibles. But it never reached this solution, though it instinctively and intellectually thirsted for Immortality which seemed a necessary consequence when progress was an accepted postulate, and it thirsted for a sign, such as the Incarnation, that God had fulfilled his own law by providing a future life for his highest creatures. That is Cleon's tragedy.

> It is so horrible,
> I dare at times imagine to my need
> Some future state revealed to us by Zeus
> Unlimited in capability
> For joy, as this is in desire for joy,
> —To seek which, the joy-hunger forces us :
> That, stung by straitness of our life, made strait
> On purpose to make prized the life at large—
> Freed by the throbbing impulse we call death,
> We burst there as the worm into the fly,
> Who, while a worm still, wants his wings. But no !
> Zeus has not yet revealed it ; and alas,
> He must have done so, were it possible !

With his superb sense of æsthetic unity, that is, with his artist's genius for contriving the total impression of the poem to ensure its basic significance, Browning lets Cleon conclude with a dramatically relevant and dramatically casual reference to another point in Protus's letter. Yes, he says, he has heard that an illiterate barbarian Jew called Paul has lately been expounding some absurd doctrine concerning one Christ or Christus. But it is a doctrine which could be held by no sane man. So the poem ends. What Cleon's soul craved for its salvation is almost within reach ; he cannot and will not see it, since his mental horizon is narrowly and rigorously philosophic in its exclusiveness.

Though with complete propriety there is much more argumentation in *Cleon* than in *Karshish*, the ultimate significance of it, as of *Karshish*, is poetic ; its argument is entirely a poetic means. The function of the poem is to produce the feeling of futility which afflicts Cleon when he finds that his philosophy empties his life of significant value. The poem is a dramatic portrait, and not in essence a philosophic or religious thesis. Browning stirs his readers to live the experience which feels

the need for a God and a Christ such as Christianity holds them to be. He does not argue whether or no there is such a God or such a Christ : he does not even argue that the need for them would warrant a belief in their existence. It is enough that the reader should vividly capture the devastating feeling of Cleon's tragedy as the inevitable outcome of his philosophy.

Between them these two poems have presented in sensation the failure of Arab and of Hellenic wisdom to sustain the soul of mankind. In a third great tradition of pre-Christian belief, Judaism, one would expect a greater measure of satisfaction for those longings which Arabic and Greek thought leave empty. Yet in his greatest religious poem, *Saul*, Browning depicts Judaism as no less wanting in the imperative need of the soul, though it was destined to be the source through which in the end satisfaction was to be found. But Christ was the son of David, and in the poem, David is granted a prophetic vision of the Christ who was to come, and of the all-satisfying purpose of his Advent.

The poem is of particular interest because, as already noted, in the 1845 collection, there is only the first half of what in 1855 became the complete and finished poem. The 1845 version dramatises a Biblical episode. Saul is afflicted by desperate melancholy. He has withdrawn himself into the solitude of his darkened tent, and for three days not a sound has escaped to those outside fearfully listening for a sign that Saul has triumphed over his mental sickness. At the onset of his illness he had asked that David should be sent for ; and now David arrives to try to soothe Saul's spirit by harp and by song. The scene is thus set for dramatising an episode in psychotherapy, with music as the medicinal agency. In fit reverence and in a humble sense of his office, David enters the blackness of Saul's pavilion, dimly to descry the gigantic frame of Saul, motionless and listless, leaning against the main prop of the tent.

> He stood as erect as that tent-prop, both arms stretched out wide
> On the great cross-support in the centre, that goes to each side ;
> He relaxed not a muscle, but hung there as, caught in his pangs
> And waiting his change, the king-serpent all heavily hangs,
> Far away from his kind, in the pine, till deliverance come
> With the spring-time,—so agonized Saul, drear and stark, blind and dumb.

Then David began to sing, choosing songs charged with memories and traditions of the most moving episodes both in Jewish tribal life and in Saul's own personal experiences, hoping thereby to reawaken him to the spell of eager living. He starts with shepherd songs recalling the vivid sensations of pastoral life. He passes to commemorative hymns of festal and solemn occasions, death-lays, marriage-chants, and ritual celebrations. Then David has his first sign that Saul is awakening :

> . . . for here in the darkness Saul groaned.
> And I paused, held my breath in such silence, and listened apart ;
> And the tent shook, for mighty Saul shuddered : and sparkles 'gan dart
> From the jewels that woke in his turban, at once with a start,
> All its lordly male-sapphires, and rubies courageous at heart.
> So the head : but the body still moved not, still hung there erect.
> And I bent once again to my playing. . . .

With his own excitement intensified, David plunges now into a chant of his own making, a rhapsodic hymn to the joy of life, ranging from the intoxicating delights of eager activities to the more enthralling raptures of momentous deeds, and shaping their sequence into a moving idealisation of Saul's career and of his achievements. He reaches an ecstatic crescendo :

> Till lo, thou art grown to a monarch ; a people is thine ;
> And all gifts, which the world offers singly, on one head combine !
> On one head, all the beauty and strength, love and rage (like the throe
> That, a-work in the rock, helps its labour and lets the gold go)
> High ambition and deeds which surpass it, fame crowning them,—all
> Brought to blaze on the head of one creature—King Saul !

He has restored Saul to life once more. The medical experiment is complete, and there the 1845 poem ended.

But between 1845 and 1855 questions of religion occupied Browning's mind extensively ; he took up *Saul* again and turned a medical scene into a religious poem.

Saul has been restored to the physical condition of being alive. But a bigger problem now presents itself. As Browning imagines the new situation, Saul, though restored to physical existence, needs something more, something to give him zest for and to sustain him in the restored life. As David puts it —there was

Saul left standing before me, released and aware.
What was gone, what remained? All to traverse, 'twixt hope and despair;
Death was past, life not come: so he waited. Awhile his right hand
Held the brow, helped the eyes left too vacant forthwith to remand
To their place what new objects should enter: 'twas Saul as before.
I looked up and dared gaze at those eyes, nor was hurt any more
Than by slow pallid sunsets in autumn, ye watch from the shore,
At their sad level gaze o'er the ocean—a sun's slow decline
Over hills which, resolved in stern silence, o'erlap and entwine
Base with base to knit strength more intensely: so, arm folded arm
O'er the chest whose slow heavings subsided.
What spell or what charm,
(For, awhile there was trouble within me) what next should I urge
To sustain him where song had restored him?—Song filled to the verge
His cup with the wine of this life, pressing all that it yields
Of mere fruitage, the strength and the beauty: beyond, on what fields,
Glean a vintage more potent and perfect to brighten the eye
And bring blood to the lip, and commend them the cup they put by?
He saith, "It is good"; still he drinks not: he lets me praise life,
Gives assent, yet would die for his own part.

What could David offer to Saul to fulfil this spiritual need? Casting about for inspiration, he recalls the lonely speculations about life and destiny which had whiled away the vacant hours of his sheep-watching. He had often built a dream-world in his own fancy, and vaguely devised for it schemes of life, best rules, and right uses, the courage that gains and the prudence that keeps what men strive for,—a whole moral philosophy, in fact. Urged by memories of these musings, he returns to the cure of Saul's spirit, approving now of Saul's indifference to mere living, and of his demand for a spiritual sustenance to provide, as an incentive to living, a conviction that life is worth while. In the familiar round of natural life, the richest achievements come from seeming decay in the vigour of outward being. As its fruits ripen, the palm-tree seems spent, but out of the fruit is distilled the sustaining essence of the palm-date. David will give Saul assurance that, though Saul's great deeds are in the past, mankind is sustaining itself on the life-giving wine distilled from them:

Each deed thou hast done
Dies, revives, goes to work in the world; until e'en as the sun
Looking down on the earth, though clouds spoil him, though tempests efface,
Can find nothing his own deed produced not, must everywhere trace
The results of his past summer-prime,—so, each ray of thy will,

Every flash of thy passion and prowess, long over, shall thrill
Thy whole people, the countless, with ardour, till they too give forth
A like cheer to their sons, who in turn, fill the South and the North
With the radiance thy deed was the germ of. Carouse in the past!

That surely will suffice to make old-age serene, though it no longer participates in the vigour of former activities. But there is a graver problem. Old-age may become serene, but old-age ends in death:

But the license of age has its limit; thou diest at last:
As the lion when age dims his eyeball, the rose at her height
So with man—so his power and his beauty for ever take flight.

To meet the dilemma with which dialectic thus confronts the actual consciousness of living, David first advances the most familiar pagan argument, to live in the memory of men is not to die. The world will hallow Saul's memory, his fame will be preserved in monuments of stone, in carved and graven inscriptions and in the written records of history:

So the pen gives unborn generations their due and their part
In thy being! Then, first of the mighty, thank God that thou art!

That is as far as pre-Christian belief could go towards providing a kind of immortality. But, as Cleon had bitterly declared, to survive in others' memory is not to live oneself. David casts about for means by which mere fame may be strengthened as an incentive for establishing the worth and significance of life to the liver of it. Fame is a sort of personal perpetuation; but is it really perpetual, and does it persist in personal consciousness? In the last resort, only the perpetuity of personal consciousness, the persisting consciousness of the immortal individual can provide an intellectual satisfaction to the instincts which, being primary in consciousness, are the substance of personality, and, therefore, of existence; for, in experience, life is just this primary and persisting consciousness of the individual's identity, one's own feeling of self, distinct from all its qualities, from all affections, passions, feelings, powers.

But David's way to discovery is not by speculation. It is by an experience, by an actual condition of apprehension excited in him by circumstances not determined by, and perhaps not amenable to, the rules of ratiocination. It is depicted as an instance of an immediate, as opposed to a mediate, avenue to truth. David, contriving by thought to meet the situation,

finds himself mysteriously transported: his awareness seems to him to become miraculously extended, and he reaches a mystic's or visionary's condition of conviction. He had stood, he says, at the summit of mere human endeavour, and scaled the highest man's thought could; but gazed hopeless as ever, until suddenly the miracle happened—he

> . . . gazed hopeless as ever
> On the new stretch of heaven above me—till, mighty to save,
> Just one lift of thy hand cleared that distance, God's throne from man's grave!

He was caught up into marvels; a revelation was opened to him. But in recalling the terrible glory, which, he feels, may vanish like sleep, he tries to fit it into all that his understanding has otherwise found to be true. He recalls that as his deliberate devices had half-restored Saul, the signs of it had been particular gestures from Saul which had stirred in David inexplicable but unmistakable promptings of communion, intimations of spiritual sympathies binding Saul to his son and servant David:

> So sank he along by the tent-prop till, stayed by the pile
> Of his armour and war-cloak and garments, he leaned there awhile,
> And sat out my singing,—one arm round the tent-prop, to raise
> His bent head, and the other hung slack—till I touched on the praise
> I foresaw from all men in all time, to the man patient there;
> And thus ended, the harp falling forward. Then first I was 'ware
> That he sat, as I say, with my head just above his vast knees
> Which were thrust out on each side around me, like oak-roots which please
> To encircle a lamb when it slumbers. I looked up to know
> If the best I could do had brought solace: he spoke not, but slow
> Lifted up the hand slack at his side, till he laid it with care
> Soft and grave, but in mild settled will, on my brow: thro' my hair
> The large fingers were pushed, and he bent back my head, with kind power—
> All my face back, intent to peruse it, as men do a flower.
> Thus he met here with his great eyes that scrutinized mine—

Intuitively and immediately David recognised what feeling it was which now overwhelmed him:

> Thus held he me there with his great eyes that scrutinized mine—
> And oh, all my heart how it loved him!

But how did he know that he was rightly describing the feeling as love?

> And oh, all my heart how it loved him! But where was the sign?

The sign was clear. He had exhausted his own capacities to the utmost to restore Saul; he had realised the inadequacy

of his power, but had felt that he had divined how the task might be achieved if his power could ordain so much : he had realised in an impassioned moment of insight that the one way to bring Saul to full restoration was to give him life eternal. But the gift was not in David's power to give—

> I yearned—" Could I help thee, my father, inventing a bliss,
> I would add, to that life of the past, both the future and this ;
> I would give thee new life altogether, as good, ages hence,
> As this moment,—had love but the warrant, love's heart to dispense ".

But the poem does not end at this moment of exalted feeling, the passionate experience of a son's love for his father : the state of feeling becomes the threshold of new discoveries. " Then the truth came upon me."

In his elation, David looks back on what, up to this moment of illumination, have satisfied him as evidences sufficient to confirm his orthodox and traditional views of divine providence. He has been generally content to be part of a scheme of creation ordered by a benevolent God who was veritably God.

> I have gone the whole round of creation : I saw and I spoke :
> I, a work of God's hand for that purpose, received in my brain
> And pronounced on the rest of his handwork—returned him again
> His creation's approval or censure : I spoke as I saw :
> I report, as man may of God's work—all's love, yet all's law.

But now this variety of placidly optimistic theism no longer fits the circumstances ; still less does it provide for the need newly realised as urgent and all-important. David's feeling towards Saul in Saul's crucial predicament calls for fundamental change in the accepted notion of God's nature. " Now I lay down the judgship he lent me." He is no longer easy and certain in estimating what hitherto have seemed clear implications of the Creator's creation. Indeed, he feels completely nonplussed. He has made apparently easy deductions from seemingly patent traits of the Creator's handiwork, and has entertained complacent expectations that the ways of God's providence tend generally to man's happiness ; but he suddenly realises from his tense encounter with Saul that this is a gross and inescapable delusion :

> . . . Each faculty, tasked
> To perceive him, has gained an abyss, where a dewdrop was asked.

He can no longer rely complacently on what he has taken to be the special gifts of God to mankind :

> Have I knowledge ? confounded it shrivels at Wisdom laid bare.
> Have I forethought ? how purblind, how blank, to the Infinite Care !

Thus he is driven still more absolutely and awfully to recognise the overwhelming omnipotence of God and the consequent insignificance of man. Nature patently reveals an all-powerful Creator, and no less testifies to his Perfection. Yet perfect though his created universe suggests him to be, one momentary experience granted by circumstance to one ordinary mortal, David, has prompted in this David the irresistible feeling that in one quality, in one vital range of impulse and desire, the insignificant creature, man, may be superior to the Creator. He, David, prompted by the merely human love of son for father, feels that he could save Saul if human love had the power to do what love prompts. At any cost to himself, he would give Saul life eternal. But if he, David, the creature, would do this, why doubt that the all-powerful and all-perfect Creator would do the same ?

> There's a faculty pleasant to exercise, hard to hoodwink,
> I am fain to keep still in abeyance (I laugh as I think),
> Lest, insisting to claim and parade in it, wot ye, I worst
> E'en the Giver in one gift. Behold, I could love if I durst !
> But I sink the pretension as fearing a man may o'ertake
> God's own speed in the one way of love : I abstain for love's sake.
> —What, my soul ? see thus far and no farther ? when doors great and small,
> Nine-and-ninety flew ope at our touch, should the hundredth appal ?
> In the least things have faith, yet distrust in the greatest of all ?
> Do I find love so full in my nature, God's ultimate gift,
> That I doubt his own love can compete with it ? Here, the parts shift ?
> Here, the creature surpass the Creator,—the end, what Began ?
> Would I fain in my impotent yearning do all for this man,
> And dare doubt he alone shall not help him, who yet alone can ?
> Would it ever have entered my mind, the bare will, much less power,
> To bestow on this Saul what I sang of, the marvellous dower
> Of the life he was gifted and filled with ? to make such a soul,
> Such a body, and then such an earth for insphering the whole ?
> And doth it not enter my mind (as my warm tears attest)
> These good things being given, to go on, and give one more, the best ?
> Ay, to save and redeem and restore him, maintain at the height
> This perfection,—succeed with life's day-spring, death's minute of night ?
> Interpose at the difficult minute, snatch Saul the mistake,
> Saul the failure, the ruin he seems now,—and bid him awake
> From the dream, the probation, the prelude, to find himself set
> Clear and safe in new light and new life,—a new harmony yet

To be run, and continued, and ended—who knows?—or endure!
The man taught enough, by life's dream, of the rest to make sure;
By the pain-throb, triumphantly winning intensified bliss,
And the next world's reward and repose, by the struggles in this.

So, wrapt in this realisation of hitherto unimagined qualities of God, David is exalted to ecstatic foresight. He has seen what inevitably must be the way of God with man:

I believe it! 'Tis thou, God, that givest, 'tis I who receive.

The conviction overwhelms him, as all the apparent contradictions of his experience fall now swiftly into a universal scheme:

In the first is the last, in thy will is my power to believe.
All's one gift: thou canst grant it moreover, as prompt to my prayer
As I breathe out this breath, as I open these arms to the air.
From thy will, stream the worlds, life and nature, thy dread Sabaoth:
*I* will?—the mere atoms despise me! Why am I not loth
To look that, even that in the face too? Why is it I dare
Think but lightly of such impuissance? What stops my despair?
This; 'tis not what man Does which exalts him, but what man Would do!
See the King—I would help him but cannot, the wishes fall through.
Could I wrestle to raise him from sorrow, grow poor to enrich,
To fill up his life, starve my own out, I would—knowing which,
I know that my service is perfect. Oh, speak through me now!
Would I suffer for him that I love? So wouldst thou—so wilt thou!
So shall crown thee the topmost, ineffablest, uttermost crown—
And thy love fill infinitude wholly, nor leave up nor down
One spot for the creature to stand in! It is by no breath,
Turn of eye, wave of hand, that salvation joins issue with death!
As thy Love is discovered almighty, almighty be proved
Thy power, that exists with and for it, of being Beloved!

The revelation reaches its consummation: the God of Power, more transcendent now as the God of Love, will incarnate himself as a veritable and visible sign, as a bond between time and eternity, between creature and Creator, between divine and human, so that, overwhelmed as he must be by the omnipotence of God, man may approach God through the quality common to both, the common attribute of love.

This is David's inspired dream; entranced by the fervour of his love, he reaches absolute certitude on the Advent to come.

'Tis the weakness in strength, that I cry for! my flesh, that I seek
In the Godhead! I seek and I find it. O Saul, it shall be
A Face like my face that receives thee; a Man like to me,
Thou shalt love and be loved by, for ever: a Hand like this hand
Shall throw open the gates of new life to thee! See the Christ stand!

So much for *Saul*. But, leaving it, it must again be insisted that it is a poem, and that its function is to create the conviction of poetry. It seeks to conjure in the reader the circumstances and successions of mood by which David reached insight, and thereby to induce through the creative power of poetry the same sequence of apprehension in the reader so that he may realise the same illumination as an actual, though æsthetic, experience.

Such are the three great religious poems of *Men and Women*. They reveal unmistakably what Browning's religious preoccupations were, and wherein he set highest values in the body of belief. The Christian God replaced other gods, because, besides being God of Power, he was pre-eminently God of Love ; and because he was God of Love, he fulfilled man's primary longing by endowing him with immortality. God's demonstration of this love was the incarnation of Christ His Son. The doctrine of the Incarnation thus becomes supreme in Browning's faith. As we have seen, he decries the Unitarianism of his Göttingen Higher Critic. When moreover, in *Dramatis Personæ* (1864), there is the first sign of a falling off in Browning's creative energy and of its partial supersession by his imaginative argumentative faculty, there is one poem expressly devoted to evidences of the Incarnation as an article of dogma. *A Death in the Desert* is a declaration of the validity of St. John's testimony to the Sonship of Christ. To some extent, therefore, it is a declaration concerning historic events, and must submit itself to criteria relevant to such assertions. As a contribution to evidences of this kind, the poem has little value. The identification of the author of the Fourth Gospel and the establishment of the circumstances of its origin are problems not so much for the imagination as for the researches of scholarship. And Browning was not expert in that range of textual erudition. The parts of the poem which live as sheer Browning are those which utter his other grounds of conviction in cleaving to the Incarnation, his belief in man's capacity for direct intuitive cognition of God :

> What if the truth broke on me from above
> As once and oft-times ?

For the rest, asserting the truth of these revelations, through ratiocination rather than through poetry, he insists on the superiority of these immediate over the normally rational and mediate holds on reality, since it is " a very superficial truth " which reason reaches. There is, of course, in the poem much else with a bearing on aspects of Browning's religion, as there is also in *Bishop Blougram* and *Caliban upon Setebos*. But these do not alter the fundamental features of his faith—the conviction that direct experience of God, by inspiration, intuition, vision (or whatever be the current name for it) is proved by actual incidents in life, and that the revelation is absolute, whereas the conclusions of reason are, like reason itself, merely relative, though not therefore insignificant in themselves nor ultimately irreconcilable with the findings of man's faculty for a much more complex apprehensiveness of truth. *Bishop Blougram* both justifies and depicts this limitation of human reasoning powers ; with *Caliban*, it presents reason's adequacy as entirely relative to the particular conditions of man in evolution, and therefore its incapacity to grasp the absoluteness which the soul inexorably demands. In one way, Browning's philosophic problem is Plato's, the apparently opposite demands of the mediate and the immediate faculties of cognition, and Browning's tentative solution, the acceptance of revelation by inspiration, is a nineteenth-century version of Diotima's lore of the " daimoniacal " nature of love. In another way, Browning's is a kind of Kantian proposition on the mutual and not fundamentally hostile relationship of reason and of understanding.

But with these poems we are passing out of the circle of those of Browning's specifically religious creations which have won universal recognition as amongst his greatest poetry. Our argument, therefore, will be more properly continued by turning to other of his works which are poetic masterpieces, and which, though not directly religious poems, yet add to the evidences of his sense of religion. These are the poems in which two other themes inspire his genius, his Love poems and his Art poems ; and they are legion. Indeed, they form the main body of his works ; and Browning only becomes intelligible when one realises why love and art and religion were his preferred themes,

and realises as well the relationship of these three themes to each other.

As he himself told us, the elements of Browning's consciousness of being alive were two: a consciousness of self, and an awareness of an impulse he describes as a yearning after God. These together were himself. He felt that living was a distinctively individual experience, he saw life as a vast crowd of distinctive experiencing beings. Before the rational processes of thought become more or less determinative of the individual's total response to circumstance, Browning was physiologically an individualist. His senses functioned in that way. He noted the boundaries separating entities rather than the mass into which they merge; contrast caught his eye before likeness. Hence his susceptibility to strong colour, to jagged edges and to idiosyncratic patterns rather than to blending tones or simple outlines or balanced shapes. In his encounters with men, it was their peculiarities rather than their generic features which impressed themselves most powerfully on his perception. So, as his mind rationalised his perceptions, he inevitably became an individualist. Hence, the riddle of his universe: for how can the anarchy of such perceptions as were his strongest impressions of life be resolved into the order of any universe such as the thinking mind demands and must demand if thought is to have validity at all? The dilemma is greater because the other real certainty (or certainty of reality) in Browning's consciousness was his yearning after God. It was because each of these, and in equal stress, constituted the whole basis of his sense or sensation of life that the problem posed itself. There was no easy acceptance of a philosopher's god as the unifying solvent transforming an anarchy into a universe. For, to the individualist, the statement that man is man is primarily an assertion that he is not god; and the recognition of god is a declaration that god is not man—"That I am I, as He is He". Somehow or other Browning had to find in living the means of resolving into unity the distinctive diversities of man and God, of time and eternity, of relative and absolute. Life, indeed, was the incessant seeking for a link between the real and the ideal, a bond between God and man.

In the meantime, and in the instinctive exercise of his nature, it was individuality as the distinctive trait of each man and woman which engrossed Browning's interest. The most palpable phase of individual personality is idiosyncrasy grown to the grotesque. Many of Browning's men and women are grotesque, and some, especially among the earlier ones, so grotesque as to be certifiable occupants of madhouse cells. But in time, Browning discovered a more significant embodiment of distinctiveness in men whose native endowments made them what the world calls artists, and especially those amongst the artists whose medium is colour, the painters whose range of line and tone enables them to depict the infinite variations in the separate folks they portray. It is indeed no accident that when the Renaissance found men with an enhanced sense of the might of personality, the world got its first real biographies and autobiographies, and these were biographies of painters, as in Vasari, and autobiographies of craftsmen in metal and in the arts or shifts of life, like Cellini's lively self-portrait. Hence, it was painters who commended themselves particularly to Browning's artistic intuition. There is his gallery of Old Masters, and chief amongst them is Fra Lippo. But as Lippo comes to life in Browning's imagination, he not only satisfies his author's instinctive preference for individuals; by his individuality he opens a way of satisfying the other, and apparently opposing, instinct. He becomes a means of finding God in a universe of man and God.

By his sheer physiological response to beautiful things in the world, Lippo is wrought to a mood of exuberant exaltation. He sees instinctively the value and significance of flesh, he reaches in actual experience the conviction that the world's no blot for us, nor blank, but that it means intensely and means good. As an artist in the act of creative excitement, he has flashes of insight into the truth of things. It is Browning's certainty of this psychological possibility which is the root of his belief in art. The artist, whose cognitions come from the whole of his exquisite sensitiveness, and not only from his rational processes, apprehends life more directly and more powerfully than do others; and the invigorating activities of

his whole personality excite him to a mode of perception which may catch sight of ultimate truth. To put it in another way, he may see God :

> He, with a " look you ", vents a brace of rhymes,
> And in there breaks the sudden rose itself,—

while the mere thinker is limited to earth-bound exposition of subtler meanings of what roses say. The artist is, indeed, a priest, a chosen minister in the temple of the world. As such, he can help his congregation to communion with God, for, as an artist, he can not only see, he can transmit the vision and kindle the spiritual processes of which, for himself, the vision was the consummation. He can create for his audience the conditions in which they too may see. He is, of course, an artist because these visitations of ecstatic sensation come to him more frequently and more powerfully than to others : but he can stimulate in others these moments of insight through outsight.

As a practitioner of poetry, Browning himself provides ample illustration of this tonic, stimulating effect of poetry on its readers. His chief artistic gift is his genius for transmitting thrilling experiences made by the impact of circumstance on this or the other man. But sometimes the transmission is less perfect. For instance, he regarded *Abt Vogler* as one of his greatest poems. It presents the series of moods by which a musician extemporising on an organ rises from exhilaration to exhilaration as the music seems to make itself. He reaches a trance-like ecstasy of elation, feeling that through his playing he has miraculously penetrated the mysteries and enjoyed a revelation of God. So far, the poem is a superb work, transmitting the organist's intoxication stage by stage to its climax. But then, as Abt Vogler ceases to play, and ruminates on the meaning of his exaltation, there is a hiatus in the reader's response ; to go on experiencing the poem, he has to take over what happens to be Abt Vogler's way of reconciling the artist's sensation of ecstasy with the emptiness of the mood left behind when the excitement ceases. He must assume, as Abt Vogler assumes, a God who, being himself eternal, ensures the indestructibility of all good things. The assumption made, the rest of the poem can magnificently induce the succeeding

sequences of mood which reach their summit in Abt Vogler's final sense of the ultimate meaning of life. But the poetic argument, the æsthetically generated succession of moods arising out of the circumstances presented, and therefore transmissible by poetry to the reader, is broken in the middle. The presentation of the musician reaching illumination through music is convincingly done; but the implications of his vision rely for their conviction on propositions which the poem does not make valid by exciting a sense of their poetic inevitability. Browning's painters inspire him usually to more powerful realisations of their intuitive sense of life, and so equip him to transmit their visions with a surer impression of their validity.

But artists have no monopoly in revelation. For mankind at large, poorly susceptible though it be to the art of the artist, or even dumb to it entirely, life itself provides other situations which may induce that comprehensive sensation of being aware of truth, that condition of apprehensiveness which is similar in kind to the artist's artistic experience. The occasions may be infrequent, but for everybody there are moments, sure though seldom, when apprehensiveness is wrought by circumstance to its highest pitch of intense sensitivity, and body and soul together are energised to their sharpest activity in realising their distinctive and peculiar place in the universe. The most universal, the most familiar and the most effective of these situations is provided by the act of falling in love. So for Browning poems of love are poems of religion. To fall in love is to experience a revelation. To continue in the human condition of being in love is to enjoy continuous moments of this exalting feeling, with the interims providing a succession of calmer experiences confirmatory of the revelation and supplying the mind with a host of evidences by which it may build a philosophy from a moment of insight. Fortunately, as perfect love is as rare as perfect art, the spiritual function of love is not dependent on its continuous maintenance nor on its reciprocal return. The all-important feature is the single or even instantaneous experience of falling in love. A love which dies or a love frustrated will nevertheless fulfil its spiritual purpose. It will have provided at least a moment of feeling in which the clue to the

universe may have been grasped. Through love man may enjoy an intuitive knowledge of God.

It is this consciousness through soul, this psychological efficacy which is the supreme worth of love as a human emotion. It stirs to vision. The contents of the vision will then, of course, be translated into the lover's intellectual idiom as components of a coherent philosophy. For Browning the individualist, the particular procedure almost suggested itself. Man as man was not God. He was imperfect, God was perfect. But man found he could know God in one way ; he could be stirred to moments of inspiration or revelation by the stress of circumstance, and especially by the excitement of falling in love. Love was the only means ; and so, love must be a part of God's perfection ; God must love and be loved. These discoveries came to Browning out of the experiences of his own individual existence ; he could and did say that he himself had discovered that God was God of Power and of Love, and that he had discovered this in moments of intense feeling, or (to put it in other words) by inspiration or through revelation. It was natural therefore that revelation, found by him to be his means of realising the nature of God, should be accepted by him as God's way and manner of communion with man. Hence his tenacious insistence that God had confirmed man's discovery by the Incarnation. Browning's belief in the actual historicity of the Incarnation is, so to speak, the third link in the welding of his faith. He accepted Christ and the Christian God because of his own instinctive sensations through the continuous exigencies of existence. He justified his acceptance by embodying God and Christ in the intellectual scheme of the universe which alone satisfied his mind as a coherent philosophy. Then, as the ultimate confirmation of his creed, he urged the actual historicity of evidences of the Incarnation.

That, then, is the pattern of Browning's faith. God is God, not only of Power, but of Love. As the expression of his love, He created man and gave him personal immortality. He gave man also the faculty of receiving revelation by inspiration. The unique revelation was the incarnated Christ.

A fuller and more argumentative statement of this faith is put by Browning into the mouth of the Pope of *The Ring and*

*the Book*. Surveying the universe, not man's but God's work, the Pope conjectures the worker by the work :

> Is there strength there ?—enough : intelligence ?
> Ample : but goodness in a like degree ?
> Not to the human eye in the present state,
> An isoscele deficient in the base.
> What lacks, then, of perfection fit for God
> But just the instance which this tale supplies
> Of love without a limit ? So is strength,
> So is intelligence ; let love be so,
> Unlimited in its self-sacrifice,
> Then is the tale true and God shows complete.

(The tale is the tale of the Incarnation.)

> Beyond the tale, I reach into the dark,
> Feel what I cannot see, and still faith stands :
> I can believe this dread machinery
> Of sin and sorrow, would confound me else,
> Devised,—all pain, at most expenditure
> Of pain by Who devised pain,—to evolve,
> By new machinery in counterpart,
> The moral qualities of man—how else ?—
> To make him love in turn and be beloved,
> Creative and self-sacrificing too,
> And thus eventually God-like, (ay
> " I have said ye are Gods ",—shall it be said for nought ?)
> Enable man to wring, from out all pain,
> All pleasure for a common heritage
> To all eternity : this may be surmised,
> The other is revealed,—whether a fact,
> Absolute, abstract, independent truth,
> Historic, not reduced to suit man's mind,—
> Or only truth reverberate, changed, made pass
> A spectrum into mind, the narrow eye,—
> The same and not the same, else unconceived—
> Though quite conceivable to the next grade
> Above it in intelligence,—as truth
> Easy to man were blindness to the beast
> By parity of procedure,—the same truth
> In a new form, but changed in either case :
> What matter so intelligence be filled ?
> To a child, the sea is angry, for it roars :
> Frost bites, else why the tooth-like fret on face ?
> Man makes acoustics deal with the sea's wrath,
> Explains the choppy cheek by chymic law,—
> To man and child remains the same effect
> On drum of ear and root of nose, change cause
> Never so thoroughly : so my heart be struck,
> What care I,—by God's gloved hand or the bare ?

Thus the Pope, expressing the intuitive basis and the argumentative corroboration of his belief concerning the nature of God (neither he, nor Browning, except in Blougram's hypotheses, thinks it necessary to consider whether or no there be any God) and of the part of Christ as the veritable Son of God in the whole divine dispensation. He expresses, too, his notion of the dependence of man's moral life on these truths of religion. In particular, it is his sense of moral life as the outcome of pain and sorrow and sin which gives the main clue to the whole system of Browning's moral doctrines, with their acclamation of trial and failure and all other human imperfections and disappointments. It is the basis of Browning's optimism.

Just one word more. Browning's exhilarating moral teaching is bound up so closely with his particular Christian faith that one must ask whether there is value in it purely as a moral system dissociated from its religious groundwork and foundation. One thing is certain. Browning built his moral ideas explicitly and unswervingly on his religious beliefs ; and he himself believed that the validity of his moral philosophy depended entirely on the validity of his religion. But two propositions are arguable. First, it might be held that a less anthropomorphic conception of God than is inevitable in an individualist might resolve Browning's God of Love either into a power not ourselves making for righteousness, or into a natural life-force compelling the realisation of the universe's own inherent nature. Or it might be maintained that not only in general, but even in Browning's own philosophy, the authenticity of the Incarnation is not entirely necessary as the authentication of divine providence. Both these alternatives, however, even if they provided all that the intellect required for complete satisfaction, would give inadequate weight to inspiration as a fact of experience ; and they would neglect the essential element of the " real God-function ", which, as the poet puts it in *Christmas Eve*, was—

> " to furnish a motive and injunction
> For practising what we know already."

They would, then, be insufficient to guarantee a right way of living. Religion would lose its highest value to mankind as mankind. If any attempt is to be made to comprise all the

facts of Browning's experience into a system of thought alternative to his, it looks as if it would give main attention to combining his sense of inspiration and of love as primary capacities of human nature, so that instinct and intuition might be found to endow an evolving human-kindness (*to philanthropon*) with the properties of an irresistible motive and incentive to right living. In the meantime, it is sufficient to feel certain that Browning's moral doctrines have a practical power, corroborated by experience, to inspire great and noble living. Whether or no they fit into the scheme of God's universe, they appear to instil incentives and ideals of inestimable value into the lives of those who dwell in man's universe. And although Browning himself, in the long years after his poetic genius was fading, is perpetually endeavouring to find arguments to bolster up ratiocinatively the religious beliefs which his poetic inspiration had previously assured to him, he never wavered in mind about the unassailable wisdom of his moral doctrine. In the year before he died, he reiterated it exultantly as a sense of life which had been triumphantly sufficient for all the predicaments, trials, sorrows and problems with which experience had confronted him.

The *Epilogue to Asolando*, perhaps his best-known poem, and a typical Browning counterpart to Tennyson's equally well-known *Crossing the Bar*, is Browning's last flash of sheer poetry. It must then be taken as a further contribution from experience of a kind of evidence which Browning consistently held to be paramount in establishing the validity of a religious belief. It is Browning's own testimony that at the end of life he has found his religion adequate to every need sought from it. He has found it to be true.

# FOOD OF THE GODS IN ANCIENT SUMER.[1]

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THE words "food of the gods" used in the title are intended literally, as the Sumerians themselves understood and used them in speech and writing. On another occasion there may be opportunity to describe the production of the food, but here and now we shall be concerned with the consumption of food, which, in respect of men, is by way of eating, and, in respect of the gods, is by way of offerings made by men to gods.

The people who ate and drank and offered, and the gods to whom offerings of food and drink were made were the people and the gods of that part of modern 'Irâq which spread southwards from modern Baghdad to the Persian Gulf, in times when the shores of the Gulf were more than a hundred miles further north than they are to-day. The local landscape has been described in an article written for *The Times* (March 1923) by the late Dr. R. Campbell Thompson whose death last year, due to a cold caught on Thames Patrol work, was a heavy sorrow to workers in the field of Assyriology:

> From Ur "away to the south-west twelve miles across the shimmering levels lay the famous but small township of Eridu, with its shrine to Enki, the god of the waters, visible from Ur when the mirage allowed; in the far distant north lay larger towns, threatening war at times, Erech, Lagash, Larsa, Isin, even up to great Babylon, all beyond the river arms. Palm-belt, pasture, and cornfield, which marked the natural wealth of Ur, were fed by the Euphrates itself, here so broad that those poets who could write called its great lakes the Sea; and, where Euphrates could not reach, canals, kept clear of weeds by Royal command, bore Enki's bounty to the crops. Beyond the pale of cultivation lay the dun-coloured desert where the devils lived, part sand, part alluvial soil, here and there streaked with thin-spread salt, and in spring picked out with little purple irises, where, if Adad, the god of rain, had been kindly, the thirsty barrenness turned to grassy pasture. Where the Cornishman toasts Fish, Tin, and Copper, the Chaldean might well vaunt instead his Fish, Dates, and Corn."

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 10th of December, 1942.

More than 5000 years ago there lived in this land a people whom we call Sumerians. Whether they had been there since the first human settlement centuries before is a matter of increasingly acute debate. But there can be no doubt that they were the authors of the remarkable civilisation which we can trace from the later years of the fourth millennium to the end of the third millennium B.C., and therefore, of those influences which in later times extended to other areas of the ancient Near East, and even to Europe, in matters of language, literature, law, government, religion and science.

The Sumerians were a people of round-heads, with foreheads low and receding ; in the jargon of the appropriate science, they were brachy- or meso-cephalic in type, with prominent nose. Their hair was long and divided into two tresses which fell in front of the shoulders. On early statuary they are seen wearing a beard, long, square and carefully trimmed. Parenthetically it may be said here that even the beards are consistent with the impression which a study of Sumerian work and life makes : the impression of an ' order ' which is mathematical. It was characteristic of G. K. Chesterton that in describing cuneiform as " that strange and stiff triangular symbolism " he stated the obvious which the specialists might easily have missed !

During the last twenty-five years our knowledge of ancient Sumer has advanced beyond all expectations, thanks to the carefully estimated results of modern scientific excavations which have unearthed a wealth of detail, literary and non-literary, unsuspected thirty years ago, from the most ancient sites such as Obeid, Ur, Uruk, Fara, Jemdet Nasr. We have now much that provides a background for the third millennium B.C., the golden age of Sumerian civilisation, with deliberate document in abundance, and institutions highly developed. There is now material for the student of art, of writing, of law, of religion, of economics—enough for a lifetime of effort and a library of books—and for still more effort and still more books.

It is unfortunate that the material relevant to the subject of this paper, though abundant, is not abundant enough in bulk or in detail to satisfy the student's curiosity concerning many

points which the title of this paper suggests, or to justify the conclusions which some scholars have formulated. It cannot be too often repeated that the little we know of Sumerian religion as it was practised during the Sumerian age, i.e. almost the whole of the third millennium B.C., is very little indeed. It would be possible to fill a very large volume with religious data gathered from almost a thousand years of public and private record. But these data do but raise questions; they answer almost none at all. For example: curiosity is whetted when it is recorded that this king installed a high priest; that animals were sacrificed during such and such a festival; that this person was a singer attached to a temple. But curiosity is not satisfied unless we are told something of the installation ceremony, something of the manner of sacrifice, something of the hymns sung. On such points Sumerian-age records are silent.

It is therefore not surprising that when records do not talk as much as we would wish, students of Sumerian religion have paid great attention to pictorial evidence. This kind of evidence is vivid. If only we had literary evidence which would make these silent pictures into talking pictures! Any scholar is free, of course, to attempt to supply a scenario from such Sumerian literary evidence as is available. But the result will be that we shall have a twentieth-century A.D. attempt to give precision to that which a pre-twentieth-century B.C. artist left unexplained. Reliefs, plaques, 'standards,' cylinder-seal engravings, and such, invite speculation and have received much that is acute and, not seldom, permanent in value. Such material we shall make use of in this paper, but with the humble purpose of catching what they *prima facie* convey or suggest, not of daring subtle correlations and interpretations, of the feastings and offerings, secular and religious, which the artists have depicted.[1]

Cylinder-seals are the most common source of illustration of our subject. They have been intensively studied in recent years. We now know that even at an early date, *c.* 3000 B.C.,

[1] The pictorial material used in the immediate sequence is drawn from *Cylinder Seals*, by Dr. H. Frankfort (1939), *Ur Excavations*, Vol. II, by C. L. Woolley, chapter xvii, by L. Legrain (1934).

it was usual to tie string or cord round the necks of jars, vases, round baskets and other containers of property, solid and liquid. The string or cord was secured by a lump of moist clay. Over this a cylinder was rolled, leaving the impress of whatever name or scene was engraved on the cylinder to mark, presumably, ownership of the container and its contents.

The cylinder-seals vary in size. Of the hundreds found from the Sumerian age, some are only 12 by 8 mm., whereas others are as much as 43 by 29 mm. They are made of various kinds of material. In the early Uruk period—late fourth millennium B.C.—they are of white or pink marble ; later they are of coloured limestone : light grey, black, blue, or green ; later still, of white or green serpentine, aragonite, calcite or shell core ; and occasionally even of gold or silver. In the Sargonid period—perhaps middle third millennium B.C.—hard material such as jasper or rock crystal was used. The cylinders used during the Third Dynasty of Ur—*c.* 2300 B.C.—such as those which appear on some of the tablets in the John Rylands Collection of Sumerian tablets, were usually made of haematite, occasionally of lapis lazuli.

The earliest Sumerian cylinder-seals bear no inscriptions. The later ones are inscribed with the name of the scribe, his father and, often, the reigning king to whom the owner of the seal declares his loyal service. In addition to the inscription, the seals often bear scenes composed of figures of deities and of men, of animals domestic and mythical, and of furniture usually of temple and farm. The temptation to impose a religious motif on such scenes is great, but, in my view, it must be resisted unless clear evidence or necessity concurs and requires it. It may be true that the early Sumerians executed arts and crafts only for the greater glory of their gods. But it would be surprising if they did, for such exclusively religious preoccupation is not in accordance with what we know of men, Flocks are depicted as early as the Jemdet Nasr Age. They are shown near to some structure. This is said to be a shrine ; but why not the sheep-fold ? From Obeid we have a dairy scene : cattle are being milked and the milk is being strained and stored. Another early artist in Sumer shows us a man

holding a goat which another man milks, and against a near-by tree sits a third person drinking newly drawn milk from a cup which he holds in one hand whilst a small dog jumps up to lick his other hand which rests on his knee. And from the city of Ur early in the third millennium B.C. comes a scene which combines sheep and goats, shepherd and dairymen, and all around in the 'field' and on shelves are jars, pails and boxes. It appears that milking time is over, the sheep are leaving the pen. The short-bearded shepherd, his long-thonged whip over his shoulder, bears a thin two-handled jar, perhaps full of milk. A seated figure dressed in shawl, sits churning milk in a large jar. On a wattle made of reeds stand twelve round cheeses. On its more or less lawful occasion a bird is perched on the gate of the enclosure. Such scenes as these are self-explanatory. Let him who will fret them with religious symbolism.

On examination, ancient Sumerian artistic remains reveal, on the part of the artists, a penchant for symposia. This appears especially on the cylinder-seals found at Ur of the early period. There at any rate there was almost a primacy of the table. The Sumerian artists let us see a lady dining in solitary state, a cup in her hand and dates in a large vase before her. Two servants are at hand as her ministers of supply. Or a feast for two: man sits facing woman; between them a large jar from which they imbibe through metal tubes. Had man at that early time discovered how to obtain a cool drink in that torrid land? Occasionally when the diners are the king and queen four pipes, two for each of the party, appear in the jar. When the royal pair are shown drinking direct from the cups, the cups are similar to the fluted tumblers of gold which have been found in contemporary royal graves. Time has not materially changed the conditions of royal feasting: the side-board mounted on copper feet, heavy with loaves and meats and alabaster cups; servants and bearers of large jars suspended from poles by ropes; and music from harps or cymbals, and the noise of the clapping of hands to the songs of the singers. Such scenes have no date and no frontiers. Only the fans and their use at the feast suggest conditions proper to Mesopotamia.

There was found at Ur an engraved plaque which was at first wrongly interpreted. This plaque, in four sections, was set at the front of the sounding board of a harp. The second section shows a long-tailed mastiff wearing a belt in which is a dagger, and carrying a portable altar made of cane, on which are a leg of lamb, a calf's head and a boar's head. He is assisted by a lion rampant holding a lamp in one hand and, in his other hand, a jar slung in a fibre net. This has been interpreted as a ritual scene in which the sacrificing priest and his assistant are animals. But Mr. Gadd has pointed out that these are not animals, for from out the animal dress the human hand protrudes clearly. A ritual scene? Or a pictorial record of one way of stalking and hunting? Or merely, though less likely, a masque: "Come now, what masques, what dances shall we have, To wear away this long age of three hours, Between our after-supper and bed-time?"

It would seem from the evidence available that scenes of symposia of commoners and royalty gradually disappear and only religious feasts are depicted by later Sumerian artists. And how sombre these latter are by contrast! But no doubt it was felt that austerity better graced the hour and the deed. From Ur and Uruk of the old time come scenes of offerings to the deities. All activity focuses on the seated deity who just sits. Towards him or her come one or more worshippers who carry an animal, a kid or a lamb, a jar or a cup, or the first ears of grain. Often a worshipper pours a libation from spouted vessels, or water on palms and bunches of dates. Sometimes there stands before the deity a table on which are set meat, cake and cups. The worshippers may approach processionally, each raising a hand in gesture of prayer; or an attendant deity may lead forward a worshipper bearing his offering to his god. Sometimes an inscription defines the scene. On a cylinder-seal of Ur 111 we read: "To the god Ningishzida, his king, for the life of Shulgi, the mighty man, Ninkalla shepherd of fat sheep, has dedicated (this)." The god is robed. Two men dressed in fringed shawls approach, one leaning on his shepherd's crook clasps the hand of his mate who raises a hand in prayer. The god extends a hand in welcome.

We need not give more detail of such scenes of offerings of food to deities. The evidence which they supply shows: (i) that men and gods ate the same foods and drank the same drinks; (ii) that for a considerable period, the participants in such feastings were human beings; (iii) that later the banquets of men are not represented by local artists; instead we have scenes of men bearing foods and drink to deities; (iv) that by the time of Ur III such "offering" scenes also practically cease, and instead we have presentation scenes, i.e. human beings conducted into the presence of deities. These show so little variety in design that they might suggest mass-production were it not that the names of scribe and royal patron vary.

Fortunately we have an abundance of literary remains of the Sumerian age from which we can draw fuller information relevant to our subject. The evidence for what follows is mainly from the age of Ur III and of the kind illustrated by the Rylands Collection. In quantity it far exceeds that of earlier Sumerian times, but in kind it is not substantially different. It is therefore right to take this material as illustrative not only of the times of Ur III but also of the entire Sumerian period extending over most of the third millennium B.C.

What did men offer to their deities in ancient Sumer according to this considerable body of documentary evidence? The non-literary evidence used hitherto in this account prepare us to expect animal and non-animal offerings, but the literary evidence allows us to be more precise.

Lest the impression be given that only food and drink were offered we may note that to a number of deities garments are presented. And not to female deities only. Hence it would be wrong to see in all this something of the Christian practice of providing a mantle for Our Lady. But this is by the way. Similarly, we merely note the fact that skins and the wool of sheep are offered to deities.

The drink offerings are milk and beer. What of wine? We are told that "the gods became drunk with wine, with wine and sweet beer". And we know that in the pre-Sargonic age wine was cultivated in orchards. But not much. According to a text of Urukagina of Lagash wine came to Sumer from

the hills, probably the Elamite hills ; and so was imported, in large casks, says the text, and perhaps by boat. As a rule it was, apparently, of the reddish kind, but white wine also was known. But wine was used but little ; beer, on the other hand, was a common drink. In respect of the deities the evidence is that if any wine, native or imported, was available the deities got their share. Urukagina of Lagash imported wine from the hills for his king, the god Ningirsu ; Gudea of Lagash poured out a libation of wine : " the wine of dates from the stone vessel, and the wine of the grape from the pot vessel ". But in the time of Ur III there is not a single mention of offerings of wine for deities.

The edible offerings were barley, meal, bread, cakes, butter, cheese, honey and dates, and of course animals. In respect of animals we may consider their kind and their gender.

First their kind : the pious Gudea of Lagash mentions certain animals as sacred : cows, calves, lambs, kids, goats. A study of the extant literature of Ur III archives shows that these same animals constitute by far the majority of the animals offered to gods and goddesses. Gudea does not mention the ox. The Ur III texts show that oxen were occasionally, but rarely offered. Perhaps because the ox had great economic value, for it was an essential part of the agricultural machine. There may be significance in the fact that swine were not offered to deities, but there is no evidence that swine were taboo ; we meet them often and wine-fat was much used. In pre-Sargonic times fishes were offered but there is no mention of them amongst offerings of the Ur III age, not even at Lagash whose inhabitants, we know, engaged in fishing both in the Persian Gulf sea and in the inland lakes.

In respect of gender of animals offered : male animals preponderate, though cows and does and ewes occur occasionally among the offerings.

What of age ? The animals are almost always young animals : kids, lambs, young cows, young gazelles, and the sapparu (siqqa-bear) ; the cows are never more than two years old. Is there anything significant in these details of age ? Perhaps the worshippers knew how to distinguish between tender

and tough meat, and concluded that the deities were no less table-wise than they? And also, perhaps, as Alfred Bertholet notes in his study of the concept of Sacrifice in the Old Testament, male animals which have not yet been worked have lost none of their strength. But his further suggestion that the giver sought to make his own the holy might of the animal offered is a gratuitous assertion which may be as gratuitously denied. Indeed there is little that can be said with confidence about the nature of sacrifice as practised by the Sumerians. We know that there were sacrifices and we know the terms by which the various sorts were differentiated. But there are questions to which we have as yet no answers. Thus, the question of ritual including the circumstance of times and number. At a later date, at Uruk, the gods ate and drank four times a day: a large and small meal in the morning, and a large and small meal in the evening. Does this practice go back to Sumerian times? Again: how were the meals prepared? were the meats cooked? was "sweet odour" essential? And what elements, if any, did the priests and ministrants receive? or, did fire consume the entire offering? and what of the shedding of blood? Unfortunately, no reply to these questions can be deduced from the Sumerian tablets of the pure Sumerian age. Many have written as though the circumstances of cult and ritual which obtained in the first millennium B.C. in Babylonia obtained also in Sumer in the third millennium. Perhaps! but no one knows.

In providing for the deities man was only doing that for which he had been fashioned. For, according to documents very close in time to the Sumerian period, life was given to man in order that he might provide the sacred sheep-folds of the deities. True, there was a heavenly store, Duku, stocked with animals and cereals on which the deities fed copiously. But the heavenly supply was not equal to heavenly demands. And so, said the heavenly ones: let us make food-producing and food-offering man! From heaven the gods Enlil and Enki supplied the earth with animal and cereal stocks, with pens and folds for live stock and granaries for produce. And in order to make the supply sure, even fool-proof, the deities

appointed some of their number to give fecundity to animals and fertility to cereals. Man's equivalent service was to use the plough and the yoke which also were gifts from heaven. By such co-operation between heaven and earth "abundance came from heaven". The later (?) story that the gods had partitioned the land amongst themselves does credit to the intelligence of those deities. What they wanted was food, and given human skill rightly directed and organised, here was a land capable of providing for the needs of both men and gods.

When we enquire of contemporary, especially Ur III documents, concerning the deities to whom offerings were made in Sumerian towns, we meet with some surprises. Writers on Sumerian religion often write as though what obtained in the cult in one town obtained equally in all the towns of ancient Sumer. Nothing could be more contrary to the evidence. One of the facts most obvious to those who study carefully the relevant material is the local character of the cults. Towns as near to each other as Manchester is to Liverpool or to Bolton or even to Salford, have their local specialities in deities and even in cult terms and in feasts. For example, the towns Lagash and Umma were as near to each other as are Manchester and Salford, with easy communication between them and with contacts which at the time of Ur III went back hundreds of years. Yet in Ur III times, the Mother of the town of Lagash, the deity Gatumdug, highly honoured at Lagash, was totally ignored at Umma over the boundary. On the other hand, at Nippur the chief deity was the god Enlil ; and yet the Nippur texts of Ur III are silent about Enlil whereas elsewhere about two hundred separate offerings are recorded as having been made to Enlil in other towns of the kingdom ruled from the city Ur. Also, though Lagash material is abundant, it makes little reference to the cult of the deities of the place. The same is true of the material at Umma. The written material from both Lagash and Umma has a predominantly 'secular' character.

When we consider the deities who are known to have been worshipped, we note that they are numerous but, and this is interesting to note, the majority of those who are named receive no offerings at all. Most of the honours go to the deities who,

as we know, were the chief gods of the various towns. It would be tedious to detail these deities and to compare the kinds and the amounts of offerings. It could be done but it will be more useful to comment on certain facts which emerge from the evidence.

No one would assert with any confidence that there was anything approaching monotheism in ancient Sumer. But it has been asserted that the Sumerians had a triad of deities: "the first great Babylonian (originally Sumerian) triad is Anu (the god of heaven), Enlil (the son of Anu), earth god, and Enki, i.e. Ea. . . . The first mention on record of these great male deities as a group or triad occurs in the time of Rim Sin. But as early as the time of Lugalzaggisi, the cosmos seems to have been divided among Anu, Enlil, and Ea."[1] We may remark that the not inconsiderable indirect evidence of Sumerian religion provided by the documents of Ur III is not favourable to such speculations. The texts frequently list deities in association, but these three are never associated or grouped together. We have, also, much evidence of deities worshipped in the temple of Enlil. Of these Anum occurs only once,[2] and Enki/Ea never.[3]

The evidence also suggests that female deities were more popular than male deities. This is suggested both by the figurines which have been found and by the literary evidence. An examination of the figurines which have been found shows that feminine forms predominate. If, as seems probable, these little shapes were personal, domestic property rather than public, temple furniture, they suggest a warmth, a graciousness of religious climate which can be appreciated best perhaps only by those who know from experience the appeal of devotion to saints such as the Madonna, St. Anne, St. Agnes, St. Brigid and others in the Christian calendar.

The literary evidence is no less suggestive. It has been noted that quite early at Ur the theophorous names are in the

[1] *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, Vol. XI, no. 2, p. 138.

[2] Genouillac TD. 5513.

[3] "On the prehistoric tablets only the trinity An, Enli and Enki is found." It is pertinent to enquire whether the author's knowledge of Sumerian language was not far more accurate than his knowledge of the most elementary, though difficult, terms of the Christian vocabulary.—Quotation is from *Semitic Mythology*, p. 89, by Prof. S. Langdon, 1931.

proportion of sixty to forty in favour of goddesses ; and that in the list of deities (excluding animals and things) nearly every intelligible name is that of a goddess. It is not yet possible to give exact figures in respect of the very large number of personal names of the Ur III period, but it seems that the proportion would be in favour of goddesses. What is certain may be summarised thus : at Lagash great reverence was paid to the goddess Babu, goddess of fertility ; to Ninhursag, the lady of the mountains, mother of the gods ; to Nana, one of whose names was Statuette, a member of the family of Ishtar/Innini who, on Ur III texts, is more widely and diligently worshipped in the land than any other deity ; and, lastly, the goddess Gatumdug to whom the *ishag* of Lagash prayed one of the most touching of all the prayers that have come down to us from the past :

O my queen, child of pure heaven,
Thou who dost give good counsel,
Who holdest first place in the heavens,
Thou art the queen, the mother foundress of Lagash !
Power abounds for the people whom thou regardest ;
Life is prolonged for the pious whom thou beholdest.
I have no mother : thou art my mother.
I have no father : thou art my father.
Thou didst bring me forth in the holy place.
In thee is knowledge of what is meet,
From thee I have received the breath of life.
Under thy protection, within thy shadow, I experience a holy awe.
May thy good spirit go before me ! and may thy good angel accompany me on my way !

This prayer was composed on the eve of Ur III, from which time nothing comparable has come down to us. It is, however, certain that in the kingdom ruled from the city Ur, female deities are slightly more numerous than male deities in the list of deities to whom offerings were made in the various towns from which we have documentary and contemporary evidence.

The offerings were made in the local temples. The number of such " houses " of the gods is large. On Ur III tablets about one hundred are cited divided amongst the cities of Lagash, Ur, Umma, and Nippur. Many of these were doubtless small chapels within or near to the house of the chief deity of the place. An ancient story tells how Marduk, the god of Babylon, formed man out of wet clay with the intent that

men might " cause the gods to dwell in the dwellings of their delight ", that is to say, might build temples, houses for their gods. It was told, too, how after the war in heaven the victorious gods in their loving kindness shared out the earth, each god choosing his or her own city. The capital city of the Third Dynasty of Ur, was long ago chosen by the Moon God for his abode. Such was the theory, and the tablets give us the practice, with their inventories of temple property and temple offerings, animal and other. The evidence is such that it has become the fashion to describe these towns and cities of the past as temple communities, temple towns, of which the high god of the place was the great monopolist and the citizens, including the civil governor, were the god's functionaries, exercising stewardship of higher or lower degree.

But it is possible that here we may be going further than the evidence permits. The existence of such temple-towns can be substantiated in respect of Lagash both of the pre-Sargonic and of the Ur III periods. But so far as our not inconsiderable evidence goes the thesis cannot be established, though it may be true, in respect of Nippur, the centre of the cult of the apparently chief god of the entire land, Enlil with his consort Ninlil. Nor of Umma, and certainly not of Puzur-ish-Dagan (Drehem), a town which seems to have been merely a parking space, a distributing centre from which other towns were supplied with animal offerings. The current theory would make every Sumerian town a temple community.

None can deny, because the evidence is abundant, that the Sumerians knew the institution which we call religion. They knew religious ceremonial, religious feasts, public and private worship, in honour of a bazaar of deities, male and female, whose visible representatives on earth were the royal family or families. If more is said concerning Sumerian religious belief and practice there is danger lest we assume much that, at the moment, we cannot support by contemporary evidence. For example, we know that something went on inside the temples, and we know a few of the terms used to describe what went on there, but we do not know what precisely it was that went on. And even when we say, and rightly, that the Sumerians were

a religious people, we should do well to suspend judgment in respect of the degree and quality of religious thought and observance. Already attention has been called to the relative paucity of sacrificial material on the texts found at Lagash and at Umma, two towns which have yielded large quantities of what are called " temple documents ". And the very nature of these documents warns that we do not exaggerate the significance of the references to the many deities, temples, offerings, feasts, and also the personal names which are almost always compounded of the names and epithets of deities. In day to day accounts of the temples, their property and personnel and activities, we naturally meet with much explicit and implicit religious detail. Over considerable periods of Sumerian history there is very little other literary material for our use. But it is interesting to note that the records of contracts, oaths and cases at law contain no evidence of religious circumstance attending these personal matters.

It may be that there is value in fancy such as the following. Suppose that a thousand years hence students try to reconstruct the religious life of this city of Manchester from the written material which survives our day. And suppose further that the written material, with the exception of a few royal prayers, foundation stones laid by the king, and descriptions of battles, consists almost entirely of the day to day account of Manchester Cathedral business. From such sources the student of a thousand years hence will learn that there was a cathedral in Manchester with various chapels ; that services were conducted there at certain times, that ministers were supported there, that worshippers attended there, and that many of those whose names appeared in the registers bear the names of Christian saints named in the contemporary Christian calendar. But what guide would such detail be to the degree and diffusion of religious sentiment and practice in this city in 1942 ? We know that such evidence is consonant with a general lukewarmness in religious matters. Was it thus in Sumer more than four thousand years ago ? There we learn from temple and state documents that religious acts were performed, that appointments were made to religious offices, that feasts were celebrated, that private

persons occasionally made votive offerings to deities in temples and in chapels. But what then?

It is tempting to speculate about the quality of Sumerian religious thought. From the time to which our first certain evidence of Sumerian civilisation belongs down to the time of the pious Gudea and the perhaps less pious kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur, is about a thousand years. During that time the Sumerians made great advances in material civilisation, in agriculture, in irrigation methods, in artistic and technological skill, and in the sciences, especially mathematics. Perhaps it is in mathematics that Sumerian achievement in the order of the spirit is seen more clearly than in any other field of activity. Now, such material advance, abundantly evident from literary and non-literary remains, proves that we are dealing with a highly civilised people. The question which suggests itself is this: did their religious thought keep pace with their progress in secular fields? No answer, certainly not a final answer, is as yet possible. But at least it ought not to be assumed that this people so eminently sane in the practical business of living, including government, were walking sandwich-men for all the darksome underworld of the spirit as, unfortunately, is sometimes assumed.

If we confine ourselves to what seems reasonably certain from contemporary evidence the total findings may be summarily expressed after this fashion. The contemporary religious theory in ancient Sumer was that the deities dwelt amongst men, and that they had to be fed by the local inhabitants. The quantity of food and drink provided for the deities seems not to have been excessive when we remember the very large quantities of animal and vegetable wealth which the land yielded. Indeed the evidence from two well-documented sites, Lagash and Umma, reveals a paucity of offerings which is surprising only if we forget that the people of Sumer were merely people with, probably, the ordinary man's drag to what we may describe as materialism tempered by an outward respect, in moderation, for old conventions in attitude and in thought.[1]

[1] The bilingual (Sumerian-Akkadian) texts belong to the post-Sumerian age, often long after. Those who are acquainted with the use of Latin as a liturgical language will not readily assume that what was written by Semites in the Sumerian tongue is always a survival of thought and prayer and song of Sumerians of the third millennium B.C.

# THE LIFE OF JESUS: A STUDY OF THE AVAILABLE MATERIALS.[1]

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SOME time ago I published[2] a short article on the question, Is it possible to write a Life of Christ? That article indicates the main lines along which I propose to tackle the problem before us; and I begin by giving a brief summary of its main points.

First, it must be admitted that it is not possible to write a Life of Jesus, if by that we mean something like Boswell's *Life of Johnson* or Morley's *Life of Gladstone*. The reason is simple: the materials are not available. Not a single chronological point can be fixed with certainty. The life of Jesus lasted probably between thirty and forty years: concerning at least twenty-eight of them we know precisely nothing at all. What information we have is mostly concerned with the public career of Jesus, that is, with the last period of his life, a period whose length is uncertain, but probably not less than one year nor more than about three. But there is not even enough material for a full account of the Ministry. It lasted at least a year—I should say a good deal longer—and all we know about it, including duplicate narratives, can be read in a few hours.

Secondly, there is the question of the reliability of the evidence at our disposal. This touches both the individual narratives and sayings and the order in which they are presented. Did the events narrated in the Gospels really happen just as they are described, and did the actual sequence of events correspond to the sequence of narratives? What allowances must we make for the editorial activities of Evangelists and the compilers of the sources which they used? How has the material

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 13th of January, 1943.

[2] *Expository Times*, liii (May, 1942), 248-251.

been affected—perhaps even created—by the practical needs of the Early Church? These and other questions cannot be evaded, and our materials are subject to all the varieties of criticism—textual, synoptic, and, of course, form-criticism. What is left when they have done their work depends, in any particular instance, on the scholar who is handling these tools; and we get all kinds of results from the rigidly conservative to the rigidly radical. Yet in spite of the extravagances and fads of individuals, there is a steady, if slow, progress in the scientific sifting and weighing of the evidence, and it can fairly be claimed that we are in a better position to-day to assess the evidence and make the best use of it than any previous generation of students of the New Testament; and I, for one, do not believe that further progress is barred.

That brings us to the third point, the problem of how to use what materials we have to the best advantage. My own opinion is that we must work on the lines laid down by Eduard Meyer, and set the stories about Jesus in the larger context of the history of Religion and Civilization from about 300 B.C. to about A.D. 300, from Alexander the Great to Constantine the Great, from the days when the tide of Hellenistic civilization began to flood over the East till the days when the counter-currents of missionary Christian religion swept irresistibly westwards over the Roman Empire. Within those six centuries lies a shorter period, from about 168 B.C. to A.D. 135, the period of the Jewish struggle, from the revolt of the Maccabees to the revolt of Bar Cocheba, from the Ḥasidim to R. Aḳiba. Here the tide of Hellenism was checked, and here for the first time the world was presented with the phenomenon of the martyr. Within this narrower period lies the actual turn of the tide, the first decisive movement appearing in the missionary activities of St. Paul. Right at the critical point lies the ministry of Jesus, at the very centre where so many conflicting ideals and ambitions clash. It seems to me that the task of the historian is to try to place our pieces of evidence in their proper setting in this great context in the hope that so placed they will shape themselves into a clear and convincing portrait of Jesus and at the same time illuminate the whole period.

So much by way of introduction : now we turn to the closer examination of the materials. The first and obvious division is that between information supplied in the New Testament (primarily, of course, the Gospels, but also the other books, in particular, Acts and the Pauline Epistles), and that found in Christian, Jewish, and pagan writings outside the New Testament. It will be convenient to deal with the extra-canonical material first.

From the Christian side we have a considerable and increasing mass of Apocryphal Gospels and Agrapha.[1] The former present some very interesting features. First of all, their scope : this can be most vividly seen if we consider the contents of Walter Bauer's great book on the subject.[2] Bauer set out to see what sort of a life of Jesus could be written, using the Apocryphal Gospels as the material. His narrative, so composed, occupies 279 pages. Of these the first hundred are taken up by the parentage, birth, and childhood, and the last hundred and twenty with the Passion narrative ; nine pages are occupied by the ministry of John the Baptist ; and the whole public ministry from the Baptism to the Entry into Jerusalem and the Cleansing of the Temple occupies pp. 110-158 —forty-nine pages. The disproportion is most striking : it reflects the peculiar interests of the Apocryphal Gospels, concentrated on the birth and death of Christ or, in theological terms, the Incarnation and the Atonement. The concentration of interest on these two points is the continuation of a process which is already at work in the Canonical Gospels ; for when, for example, the narrative material peculiar to Matthew is examined, it is found that the greater part of it is concerned with the birth and infancy of Jesus and with the Passion.

This limitation of interest is accompanied by peculiarities of taste. Many of the incidents related in the Apocryphal Gospels are incompatible with what is given in the Canonical Gospels. Stories are told, which are merely grotesque when

[1] Most of the more important of these are given in English in M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 1-193. A very full collection of Agrapha is that of Resch, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, N.F. xv, 2 ed. 1906.

[2] *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, 1909.

they are not actually revolting. I would add that the peculiar quality of these Apocryphal tales is not uniform: sometimes it appears to be a throwback to the primitive fascination by and dread of the supernatural; sometimes the story seems to have a definite theological axe to grind. There is all the difference in the world between the horrid stories told about the supernatural little bully of the *Gospel of Thomas* and the carefully constructed narrative of the *Gospel of Peter*, narrative composed with one purpose—to support the Docetic interpretation of the Incarnation and the Passion. But they have one thing in common: they are fiction.

The Agrapha are on a different footing. The most important of them are sayings attributed to Jesus, which have been preserved outside the accepted text of the Canonical Gospels. They vary in the quality of their attestation and in inherent credibility. Probably the best known and best attested is the saying attributed to the Lord in Acts xx. 35: 'It is more blessed to give than to receive'. Almost equally well known is the one spoken to the man working on the Sabbath, preserved in Codex Bezæ at Lk. vi. 4: 'Man, if indeed thou knowest what thou doest, thou art blessed; but if thou knowest not, thou art cursed, and a transgressor of the law'. There are a good many more not so well known: for example, this one reported by Origen in a Homily on Jeremiah: 'The Saviour himself says: "He that is near me is near the fire. He that is far from me is far from the kingdom".'[1] It is a task of no small difficulty to decide about some of these sayings. *A priori* there is no reason at all why genuine sayings of Jesus should not have survived outside the four accepted Gospels; and when some of those that offer themselves are examined there seems to be nothing against them. Others again do not commend themselves at all; and there is a third group which defy decision.

We turn to the Jewish accounts. These include statements in the Talmud and later Jewish literature, and three passages in Josephus, of which one concerns John the Baptist, one Jesus,

[1] Codex Bezæ = Resch No. 23; Origen, *Hom. in Jer.* = Resch No. 150.

and the third James the Lord's brother.[1] The Talmudic and later Jewish pieces resemble the Christian Apocryphal Gospels in being tendentious: they differ only in the nature of their tendencies. That of the Jewish writings is definitely hostile. Whereas many of the Christian apocryphs fabricate miracles as evidence of the supernatural character of their hero, the Jewish writings explain all the miracles claimed by the Christians as works of magic and sorcery which Jesus had learned in Egypt. While the Apocryphal Gospels continually add embroideries to the story of the Virgin Birth, the Jewish writings turn the whole thing into a scandalous tale of an intrigue with a Roman soldier. Clearly we cannot hope for much in the way of reliable data from sources of this character.

One point is worth noting: it is that the farther we go back in the Jewish tradition the more scanty the references to Jesus become. The later Jewish romances are of some size; the Talmudic references are considerably less in extent; and, when we come to the Mishnah, there are no direct references at all.[2] It may well be that this paucity of references is just what we ought to expect. Both the Church and the Synagogue were well aware of the value of silence and neglect as weapons against persons, movements, and doctrines that were not approved. There is a most instructive passage in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius quoting Dionysius of Alexandria on the subject of heretical literature.[3] The great Bishop of Alexandria says:

> 'But as for me, I read both the compositions and the traditions of the heretics, polluting my soul for a little with their abominable thoughts, yet all the while deriving this advantage from them, that I could refute them

[1] The Talmudic texts are edited by Dalman as an appendix to Laible's *Jesus Christus im Talmud;* the later Jewish writings are published and fully discussed by S. Krauss, *Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen.* There is a large literature grown up around the Josephus passages: the best statement and discussion, in my opinion, is that of H. St. J. Thackeray in his book *Josephus the Man and the Historian,* pp. 125-153. Cf. F. C. Burkitt in *Theologisch Tijdschrift,* xlvii. 135-144.

[2] There are a few possible veiled allusions but nothing that can be regarded as an absolutely certain reference to Jesus. The passages usually quoted in this connexion are *Yebamoth,* iv. 13; *Aboth,* v. 19; *Sanhedrin,* x. 1 f.

[3] Eus. *H.E.,* VII, vii. 1-3. (Lawlor and Oulton's translation.) Cf. De Labriolle, *Les Sources de l'Histoire du Montanisme,* Introduction, pp. ix-xv.

> for myself and loathed them far more. And indeed a certain brother, one of the presbyters, attempted to dissuade and frighten me from becoming involved in the mire of their wickedness, for he said that I should injure my own soul; and said truly, as I perceived. But a vision sent by God came and strengthened me, and a word of command was given me, saying expressly: "Read all things that may come to thy hand. For thou art able to sift and prove each matter; which thing was originally the cause of thy faith." I accepted the vision, as agreeing with the apostolic saying addressed to the stronger: "Be approved money-changers".'

It may well be the case that the Jewish authorities in the earlier period thought that oblivion would be a better ally against the new religion than any polemical propaganda they could devise.

Here we may pause for a moment by the pagan materials. The remarkable feature here is the minuteness of the quantity. If we except the brief notice in the *Annals* of Tacitus [1] (published in the second decade of the second century), there is little or nothing of consequence. One inference may be drawn from this silence. If Jesus had, as some have imagined, actually staged a revolt against the Roman Empire, we should doubtless have heard more about him from the Roman historians. Their silence may be taken as good evidence that no such rising took place: that the Cross was a preventive rather than a punitive measure.

The famous and much-disputed *Testimonium Flavianum* runs as follows in Thackeray's translation: [2]

> 'Now about this time arises (or "is born"—γίνεται) Jesus, a wise man, if indeed he should be called a man. For he was a doer of marvellous deeds, a teacher of men who receive the truth with pleasure; and he won over to himself many Jews and many also of the Greek (nation). He was the Christ. And when, on the indictment of the principal men among us, Pilate had sentenced him to the cross, those who had loved (or perhaps rather "been content with") him at the first did not cease; for he appeared to them on the third day alive again, the divine prophets having (fore)told these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And even now the tribe (or "race"—φῦλον) of Christians, named after him, is not extinct.'

It is difficult to imagine what sort of Christian could have deemed it worth his while to interpolate this cool, objective,

[1] *Ann.*, xv. 44. Auctor nominis eius Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat.

[2] *Josephus the Man and the Historian*, 136 f.

patronising, and faintly contemptuous paragraph into the text of Josephus. On the other hand, it is quite likely that the passage as it now stands is not what Josephus wrote: that, in fact, the original was even cooler and more contemptuous than the existing text, and that the features most objectionable to early Christian piety have been toned down or removed. The question has been carefully discussed by Thackeray, and I will mention two points only. First there is the crucial sentence: *ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν*. It seems to me that the statements of Origen[1] that Josephus 'did not admit our Jesus to be the Christ' or 'disbelieved in Jesus as Christ' together with Jeromes' variant reading *credebatur*[2] point in the one direction, namely that Josephus wrote *ἐνομίζετο* and that some pious Christian made what appeared to him the obvious and necessary correction. If so, Josephus testified that Jesus was considered (by his followers) to be the Messiah. The second is a conjectural emendation, but a very attractive one, attributed to Heinichen and regarded with considerable favour by Thackeray. It involves reading ΤΑΑΗΘΗ in place of ΤΑΛΗΘΗ, with the result that Jesus becomes 'a teacher of men who receive the abnormal with pleasure'. I should regard these two restorations as probable, and the former as practically certain.

Josephus then becomes a witness to the fact that Jesus existed, that he was regarded as a wonder-worker, that he was a teacher with unusual views, that he had a following who regarded him as Messiah, that he was crucified by Pilate on information laid by the Jewish authorities, that his followers had experiences which convinced them that he was still alive and active, and that (regrettably perhaps) the Church was still in existence when Josephus wrote.

This Jewish account of the matter can be paralleled in the small collection of evidence which Klausner extracted from the mass of Rabbinic material. The greater part of this material

[1] *Comm. in Matt.*, x. 17 (ed. Klostermann) *τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἡμῶν οὐ καταδεξάμενος εἶναι Χριστόν.*

*c. Cels.*, i. 47 (ed. P. Koetschau), *ὁ δ' αὐτὸς, καίτοι γε ἀπιστῶν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ὡς Χριστῷ, ζητῶν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων πτώσεως κτλ.*

[2] *De uir. ill.*, xiii. (Migne, *P.L.* xxiii., col. 663).

is quite worthless for the purposes of history; but Klausner did succeed in distilling out enough to make a short narrative paragraph. It runs as follows: [1]

> 'There are reliable statements to the effect that his name was Yeshua' (Yeshu) of Nazareth; that he "practised sorcery" (i.e. performed miracles, as was usual in those days) and beguiled and led Israel astray; that he mocked at the words of the wise; that he expounded Scripture in the same manner as the Pharisees; that he had five disciples; that he said that he was not come to take aught away from the Law or to add to it; that he was hanged (crucified) as a false teacher and beguiler on the eve of the Passover which happened on a Sabbath; and that his disciples healed the sick in his name.'

If we set these two Jewish accounts side by side, we find that they agree on certain essential points. Both present Jesus as a wonder-working teacher, some of whose doctrine did not square with scribal orthodoxy: [2] both agree that he was crucified. On the second of these two points Tacitus gives explicit confirmation; and it can be argued that his description of Christianity as a 'mischievous superstition' [3] implies that Jesus had been a religious teacher. The common element in all three representatives of the non-Christian tradition about Christ may thus be represented by the formula (ψευδο)διδάσκαλος ἐσταυρωμένος [4]—a crucified (false) teacher.

If now we turn from these external testimonies to the earliest ascertainable form of the canonical tradition about the ministry of Jesus, we find that this same formula will cover the basic elements discovered by Synoptic source-analysis. For what source-criticism gives us is two types of document: the narrative and the didactic. The classical representatives of the two types are Mark and Q. Now it has often been observed that in Mark a very large proportion of the available space is given to the Passion narrative,[5] that the Passion narrative is the climax of the story and the nerve of the argument, and

[1] J. Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth*, p. 46.

[2] The agreement about unorthodoxy in the teaching depends on accepting Heinichen's emendation of Josephus mentioned above.

[3] *Ann.*, xv. 44: repressaque in praesens exitiabilis superstitio rursum erumpebat, non modo per Iudaeam, originem eius mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque.

[4] St. Paul, I Cor. i. 23; ii. 2; Gal. iii. 1. *Χριστὸς ἐσταυρωμένος.*

[5] I think that the amount is sometimes exaggerated.

that it is the part of the Gospel which offers the most stubborn resistance to disintegration by form-critical analysis. It is natural to make the inference that in all probability the first section of the Gospel narrative to take definite and permanent shape was the story of the Passion. Q is the earliest known manual giving a systematic account of the teaching of Jesus.[1]

These two primitive types of document answer to the conditions in the primitive Church. The Passion story which is the core of Mark's Gospel is likewise the core of the missionary preaching of the earliest days : ' We preach a crucified Messiah ' ; ' I determined to know nothing among you but Jesus the Messiah and a crucified Messiah at that ' ; ' Galatians . . . before whose eyes Jesus the Messiah was placarded crucified '.[2] The preaching of the Cross was the means by which converts were to be made. The manual containing the record of the teaching of Jesus was necessary for the instruction of the converted in the manners and customs of the new order into which they were incorporated.

Something similar may be observed in other books of the New Testament. The ground-plan of the Epistle to the Romans gives an elaborate exposition of the Cross (with an appendix on the Jewish problem) followed by instruction in the duties of the Christian : the death of Christ for men and the life of men in Christ. The same thing may be seen elsewhere in the Pauline corpus, e.g. in Ephesians and Colossians, and also—though somewhat obscured by the exigencies of polemics —in Galatians and Philippians.

The formula ' Crucified Teacher ' thus covers the earliest statements about Jesus whether pagan, Jewish, or Christian. The differentia of the Christian statements is the assertion that the Crucified Teacher is the Messiah. It is this differentia that is, as St. Paul puts it in the fifties of the first century, ' to the Jews a stumbling-block, to the Gentiles foolishness '.[3]

[1] I have discussed the tradition of the teaching of Jesus and attempted a reconstruction and exposition of Q in *The Mission and Message of Jesus*, pp. 301-440.

[2] I Cor. i. 23 ; ii. 2 ; Gal. iii. 1.

[3] I Cor. i. 23. Foolishness (μωρία) as opposed to σοφία. Paul's answer to the criticism of the Hellenistic world is that the crucified Messiah is not

Why a stumbling-block to the Jews? Because a crucified Messiah was a flat contradiction of Jewish convictions and hopes. The Messiah was to be the glorious vindicator of Israel and the Israelite ideal against the wicked cruelty and godlessness of the world-empires. A crucified Messiah was a Messiah defeated by the heathen empire, and that was a contradiction in terms. Why foolishness to the Gentiles? Because a crucified Messiah meant to them merely a dangerous agitator very properly dealt with by the Imperial authorities. A justly convicted criminal of this kind could not even be thought of as a potential 'saviour' or 'benefactor' of mankind.[1]

These considerations determine the nature of the earliest Christian apologetic. To the Jewish critic it must be said that the crucified Messiah is the fulfilment of all the highest hopes of Hebrew religion. This involves an appeal to the Old Testament and the gradual accumulation of proof-texts (*testimonia*), a process whose earliest stages can be clearly discerned in the New Testament. This appeal to the Old Testament for the explanation of the Messianic cross goes back, in my opinion, to Jesus himself.[2] It is taken up in the oldest parts of the New Testament.[3] It reaches its fullest development in the New Testament in the Gospel of Matthew, which more than any other appears to be concerned to commend the Christian faith to the Jewish people.

To the Gentile world it must be said that the Cross was a miscarriage of justice; and this is precisely the point that is underlined in the Gospel of Luke, where the Passion is a martyrdom and Jesus a crucified benefactor of mankind. This appears most clearly in those parts of Luke that are peculiar to this gospel, and particularly in the 'Proto-Lukan' story of

foolishness but the very wisdom of God (I. Cor. i. 24). Surely Paul in this verse is not using δύναμις and σοφία as mere abstract nouns: surely he means that Christ on the Cross *is* the power of God in action—one might almost say God's 'mighty act'—and the wisdom of God, God's wise purpose in the very moment of its fulfilment.

[1] Cf. H. Preisker, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 189-208, and literature there cited. [2] Lk. xxii. 37. Cf. *Mission and Message of Jesus*, 633 f.

[3] E.g. I Cor. xv. 3; Mk. xiv. 49 (Mk. xv. 28 must be rejected on textual grounds). On the Christian appeal to the O.T. in general see G. Schrenk in Kittel's *Theol. Wb. zum N.T.*, i. 755-761.

the trial of Jesus, in which Pilate, well aware of the innocence of the accused and anxious to acquit him, is overborne by the violent clamour of the mob.

This means that Matthew and Luke are essentially apologetic works, the one making its appeal to Jews, the other to Gentiles.[1] At this point it may be urged that to admit that two of the Synoptic Gospels have a controversial axe to grind is most damaging to their reputation as sober historical documents. And with that we are brought face to face with the fundamental issue raised by Form-criticism.[2] The matter can be put in this way. The Gospels show clear signs of propagandist intention. Source-criticism takes us back to earlier collections of sayings and doings of Jesus: and study of these collections seems to reveal motives at work. The collections were made with a purpose, and it can be plausibly argued that the purpose was governed by the immediate practical needs of the Christian community in preaching to the outsider, instructing the convert, defending the Gospel against its Jewish or Gentile critics. Then the vital question is: did the motives which produced these collections *create* the units of which they are made up or only *select* them from a larger mass of available material? Again, supposing that the units were selected rather than created, have they been transmitted in their original state or have they been modified in the process? And, supposing that they have been modified, were the forces that modified them foreign to the original impulse, or were they continuations of it? Do the modifications work in the direction of bringing out more clearly the original intention of Jesus or do they obscure and distort his meaning? These are questions of the highest importance which can be answered only by painstaking

[1] That the early Church had different ways of approach to Jews and Gentiles is clearly to be seen in the later apologetic literature, e.g. Justin Martyr's two *Apologies* and the *Dialogue with Trypho*; Tertullian's four works addressed to Gentiles (*Ad Nationes, Apologeticum, De testimonio animae, Ad Scapulam*) and one to Jews (*Aduersus Judaeos*).

[2] Strictly speaking it is not a Form-critical issue, but one of historical judgement on documents as wholes. For Form-criticism, when it attends to business, is occupied with single units of narrative or discourse studied from one special point of view; and our earliest sources except for a few Agrapha and the *Pericope de Adultera*, are already *collections* of such units.

study of the documents as wholes and of the individual pericopæ. The final test is whether there emerges from the study a portrait of Jesus that will make sense of the whole mass of material, so that we can say: Jesus being like that, and his followers being what they were, this was bound to be the outcome. So far from Jesus being the product of the tradition, he is imperatively required to explain the fact that the tradition as we know it exists at all.

The service of Form-criticism is that it compels attention to four points: (*a*) *Sitz im Leben;* (*b*) the question of order —real, topical, or merely mnemonic; (*c*) the Marcan framework; (*d*) the historical value of individual pericopæ. On each of these matters something must be said.

(*a*) The question of the *Sitz im Leben*, the concrete historical situation to which a Gospel story or saying really belongs, is of the highest importance. As it is usually posed the question requires us to decide between a *Sitz im Leben Jesu* and a *Sitz im Leben der alten Kirche.* In most cases it would be relevant to add a third possibility, a *Sitz im Leben des jüdischen Volkes.* The question is not one that can be answered *a priori*, but only after very careful examination of each case. In particular it is necessary to be on guard against the tacit assumption, all too easily made, that the possible historical contexts of a story or saying are mutually exclusive: that if it can be shown that a saying is the *mot juste* for some Church situation in the fifties of the first century, it cannot also be the actual spoken word of Jesus in some situation in the Ministry. The truth is that the history of the Church and the story of the Ministry overlap. The Church was in existence almost as soon as the Ministry began. The Church in the New Testament means Peter and James and John and the rest; but we do not have to wait until after the Resurrection for that group to be formed. Further, while it is doubtless true that the first Good Friday and the first Easter introduced many new factors into the life and thought of the Church, and set many old ones in a new perspective, nevertheless there were issues that remained substantially unchanged, and many issues which became explicit in the Apostolic Age were implicit in the Ministry. Finally, before

we too hastily assume that one of the main creative tasks of the Primitive Church was the putting back of its own ideas and beliefs into the mouth of Jesus, there is one fact worth pondering. We have a considerable collection of the written works of one of the most productive minds of the Apostolic Age, St. Paul. All his letters were probably written before any of the Gospels. They abound in striking sayings, brilliant ideas, and definite expressions of belief—a magnificent quarry for any evangelist. Yet how many Pauline sayings have been put into the mouth of Jesus?

(*b*) We have to take account of the fact that there were certainly no journalists in attendance on our Lord during the Ministry and no stenographers taking down accurate reports of all that was said. We are, in fact, dependent on what people remembered of the things seen and heard. Now people remember a long series of things mostly in one or other of two ways; either by getting them into some sort of logical sequence or by means of catchwords. Both methods were in common use in the Rabbinical schools, and both may be seen in the Gospel material. The structure of the Mishnah is an example of the logical arrangement of a great mass of material under topical headings; and the Talmud is full of examples of catchword connexions where a word or idea occurring at the end of one section suggests the topic that will occupy the next. Similarly, in the Gospels, we have only to compare Matthew's sermon on the Mount with the parallel discourse in Luke, to see how the various topics attract to themselves other logically relevant matter; and this holds of all the great discourses in Matthew. The sayings that make up these discourses are there not because they were all spoken by Jesus on a single occasion and in the order in which they now appear, but because someone was interested in having an anthology of the sayings of Jesus on this or that topic. Similarly with catchwords. The stock example, Mk. ix. 48-50, is as good as any: *v.* 48 is linked to *v.* 49 by the word 'fire'; *v.* 49 is linked to *v.* 50*a*, and that to the independent saying in *v.* 50*b* by the word 'salt'. These connexions are purely verbal: the real connotation of 'salt' is different in all three cases, and the arrangement of the sayings is a pure mnemonic device.

While this arrangement of material by topics or by sound associations is obviously most appropriate in making collections of sayings, the possibility cannot be excluded that it may affect the order of narrative also. We are all acquainted with the conversational formula: 'Speaking of *x* reminds me of an interesting experience . . .'. This leads on to some anecdote which has no real connexion with the previous story except the mnemonic link. Or again for the purposes of character-drawing we may select incidents from widely separate periods of a man's life in order to show that his attitude to this or that changed or did not change as he grew older. We can easily imagine that similar processes may lie behind the Gospel records. For example in Mk. ii. 1-iii. 6 we have a series of disputes between Jesus and the religious authorities: did they occur in precisely that order at that time, or did someone, before Mark began to write his Gospel, make a collection of anecdotes of this sort which the Evangelist later incorporated into his work?

(c) Questions of the kind just raised bring us face to face with one of the really vital problems, that of the reliability of the Marcan framework. Any attempt at a full discussion of that problem would require a good deal of time and must be left to another occasion. For the present it must suffice to state conclusions. These are: (i) that it is no longer possible to regard the Marcan framework, in all its details, as a rigid and unalterable scaffolding, into which everything must somehow be fitted; (ii) that, while many concessions may have to be made to the disruptive criticism of Mark, it is nevertheless the case that a good deal of structure remains. When the lath and plaster is removed, it appears that there is some solid masonry underneath. The *main* outline is an outline of what really happened. Here we may take in Q, our other main source. Q, I believe, gives a topical order which, again in its main features, reflects the real order. Roughly speaking Mark as a whole leads up to the Cross and Resurrection: Q as a whole presupposes these events. Mark gives the realities of Christianity: Q its ideals. Mark gives the foundation on which Christian life is to be built: Q gives the plan for building on that foundation. That the two documents supplement one another, interpret one another, and reflect one another in the way they do is evidence

not only of their general reliability but also of the fact that there is the most intimate and real connexion between the life and the teaching of Jesus.

(*d*) On the historical value of the individual pericope Form-criticism, like other kinds of criticism, can make suggestions. But it is only one of the criteria to be employed. Within its limits it is a useful test ; but it is not the only one, nor is it an infallible touchstone.

The importance of these considerations in any attempt to write the ' life ' of Jesus is obvious. The Church preaches—and has always preached from the beginning—Christ crucified and risen. That is, the Gospel is the proclamation of a supreme act of God (a *kerygma*), not the memoir of a distinguished prophet lately deceased. It is a gross error to suppose that the primitive preachers of Christianity came into the world with the story of Jesus, saying to men : ' Look at this and do your best '. The primitive *kerygma* is not good advice or good example but good news.

The *kerygma* stresses the following points :

(*a*) The Davidic descent of Jesus.
(*b*) The Ministry (in the most general terms, without details).
(*c*) The Cross.
(*d*) The Resurrection and Exaltation.
(*e*) The Second Coming.

These five points are enclosed in a dogmatic framework, which itself makes two further points :

(i) All this is part and parcel of God's plan announced beforehand by the Prophets.

(ii) The way of salvation is to accept and submit to the will of God now fully revealed in Christ.

In all this the Ministry has a bare mention ; but detailed account of the sayings and doings that made it up there is none.

Nevertheless, before the end of the first century we have gospels which offer a narrative of the Ministry. We have what Luke calls in his Preface a *diegesis* of the things that had happened, a detailed narrative that links the Ministry with the Passion. How was the transition from *kerygma* to *diegesis* made ? There lies one of the most fascinating as it is one of the most vital of Gospel problems.

# EARLY FRANCISCAN ART AND LITERATURE.[1]

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IN that delightful collection of stories known as *The Little Flowers of S. Francis*, there is an account of how the saint described to Brother Leo where, and in what circumstances, he expected to find Perfect Joy. It was not in popularity and fame, nor yet in ability to preach and to heal, but rather in accepting with patience and complete humility every kind of insult and persecution. Unfortunately S. Francis, like others who have set out in search of Perfect Joy, had little chance of finding it. It is true that in the early days of his conversion, when he was unknown and misunderstood, he sometimes received the sort of treatment which his soul desired. He was beaten and imprisoned by his father ; he was thrown in the snow by robbers ; he was mocked and insulted on his first evangelistic journey. But in the latter part of his life, instead of blows and sneers he received nothing but praise and honour ; he was greeted everywhere with the wildest enthusiasm ; he was known all over Italy as 'the saint'. There was not a man who would have lifted a finger against him. This was not at all his idea of Perfect Joy ! No wonder his last years were sad !

The popularity which S. Francis attained in his life has lasted through the seven centuries which separate his time from ours, and there is no doubt that he holds a warm place in our affections to-day. Endless books and pamphlets, Christmas cards, statuettes and medallions flood the bookstalls ; more and more churches are dedicated to him ; his name is a household word. There is a positive 'cult' of S. Francis to-day which is not always very healthy. Some of it has about as much in common with the S. Francis of Rivo Torto and Greccio as the pale-faced figure of our stained-glass windows has to do with the Christ of the Galilean hills.

[1] An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 14th of April, 1943.

We are always tempted to make the great figures of the past fit into a mould of our own designing. Sabatier tried very hard to make S. Francis a liberal Protestant; others have set up what is no more than a plaster figure looking ashamed and uncomfortable in a blaze of candle-light. I am not going to attempt in this paper to give any portrait of S. Francis. What I want to do is to show what men thought of him during the first hundred years after his death, when memories were still vivid and when the Order which had gathered around him was struggling to find a pattern of living which would satisfy the demands of authority and yet preserve the originality and *élan* of S. Francis himself.

S. Francis died on 3rd October, 1226, at the age of 44. He had been ailing for some years and it was known that he could not live much longer. But when he died the Order was faced with many most urgent problems and difficulties.

It would not be true to say that there were two *parties* at this time, but there were certainly two *policies*. There were those who wanted the friars to be what S. Francis and his first disciples had been—homeless vagrants, working in the fields, begging in the streets, constantly assailed by cold and hunger and nakedness, men who were seeking what a great Christian of our own times called "the most fascinating ideal I ever imagined, to become entirely careless of your own soul or body in looking after the welfare of others". But there were also those who realised that there must be organisation and control among so large a company of men, and whose ambition was to turn the immense spiritual power which S. Francis had generated to practical use for the Kingdom of God. The most prominent among those who wished to pursue the former policy were some of S. Francis' most intimate friends, men like Leo, Giles and Masseo. The leaders of the latter policy were Brother Elias and Cardinal Ugolino who later became Pope as Gregory IX.

At the death of the saint in 1226 the men who wanted organisation and progress were in power, and soon their influence made itself felt. Elias was clear that whatever else happened S. Francis should not be forgotten. He was a saint, a very great saint, for

he had been honoured with marks of special divine favour; and it was as the great Saint of Assisi that Francis should be remembered. The Poverello must become the object of men's devotion, and his memory must be preserved in whatever way would be most impressive. To begin with, there must be two things, a shrine and an official life; and Elias and Ugolino set out to produce them.

Elias, who was a native of the hamlet of Beviglie, three miles from Assisi, never had any doubt that Assisi must be the home of the great shrine. In June 1227 he resigned his position as Minister-General in order to devote himself to the task which lay before him. By March of the following year he had secured a site and had collected enough money to start building what he was determined should become one of the most famous churches in the world. And we must admit that he succeeded in his ambitions, even though it may seem to us, as it has seemed to many, a strange way of preserving the memory of the humble servant of Poverty.

In July, Gregory IX came to Assisi where he did three things. On the 16th he performed the necessary rites for the canonisation of S. Francis; on the 17th he laid the foundation-stone of the new church; on the 18th (or thereabouts) he interviewed one of the friars, Thomas of Celano, and invited him to write the official Life of the Saint.

The church went on apace. Money poured in from all over Europe, for the fame of S. Francis had spread far and wide. Receptacles were put out for the contributions of those who came to see how the building progressed, and there is a well-known story of Brother Leo finding an alabaster vase set out for the gifts of the faithful and being so angry that he smashed it to pieces and was afterwards severely chastised by order of Elias. So vast were the sums contributed that Elias was able to build an upper and a lower church and a whole range of conventual buildings which aroused the scorn of another early disciple, Brother Giles. There is a story that when Giles was being shown round the convent he remarked drily: "All you want now is a few women. If you've given up poverty, why not give up chastity as well?"

By the early summer of 1230 the Lower Church was completed ; and in May the body of the saint was taken from the Church of S. Giorgio, where it had lain for three and a half years, and was buried deep in the rock under the high altar of the new church.

Meanwhile Thomas of Celano had been busy collecting material for his Life of the Saint. He was not himself one of the most intimate of S. Francis' friends, having joined the Order only in 1215, and having spent a number of years in Germany. In order, therefore, to collect his material for the Life which he was to write he would need to travel about the country, interviewing those who had known the saint, and writing down the evidence which they gave. Some time in 1229 Celano must have arrived in Assisi with a fairly large bundle of notes which he had collected and out of which he was to compose the biography which he had been asked to write.

The book which he wrote is generally known as the *Vita Prima* or *I Celano*. When we read it we see that the author has been faithful to the trust which was laid upon him. It is essentially the life of a saint. Many of the incidents have a slight suggestion of the supernatural about them, and there is a long section at the end of the book devoted entirely to conventional miracle stories. The S. Francis who shines out of these pages is a gracious and charming person, the recipient of God's special favour, the beloved apostle whose footprints people knelt to kiss. But we look in vain for the little tramp whom Innocent III told to go and lie with the pigs, or for the penitent so intoxicated with humility that he insisted upon one of the brothers dragging him naked with a rope round his neck through the streets of Assisi.

Such is the *Vita Prima*. Knowing what we know from other sources we can see its deficiencies. It is conventional, stereotyped, artificial. Celano's style strikes us as pompous and heavy ; his moral aphorisms are sententious and his quotations overdone. In fact there is rather too much Celano and not enough Francis ; and we cannot help wishing that Celano had printed his sources as he took them down from the friars' lips without the embellishments which rob the narrative of the simplicity and *naïveté* which we feel that all Franciscan literature should possess. But, of

course, the dossier of first-hand evidence, which Celano collected during the autumn and winter of 1228-29, has long since disappeared. Once the *Vita Prima* was completed the notes upon which it was based had served their purpose and were either destroyed or discarded; and I am not aware that any scholar has ever bothered his head about them.

Yet I believe we have, in the document known as the *Legenda Trium Sociorum*, or *Legend of the Three Companions*, something which brings us very near to the original sources upon which Celano based his *Vita Prima*. Over the composition of this *Legenda* there has been much discussion; but it has always been taken for granted that it was written many years after Celano published the *Vita Prima*, and that the numerous passages which bear an almost literal parallel to the words of Celano are in fact quotations from his work. A very close comparison of those parallel passages, however, has driven me to the conclusion that the *Legenda Trium Sociorum* represents an earlier tradition even than the *Vita Prima*, and that it may, in fact, be very close to the original sources upon which Celano worked.[1] If this is true, then we have here a document of the very highest importance, for it takes us back behind even the first biography of the saint. The *Legenda* is short, for it is probably only a fragment, but it gives us a most vivid account of the youth and conversion of S. Francis and of the early years of his apostolate. It is fresh and simple and spontaneous, for it has not felt the restraining hand of those who wished to mould the memory of the saint according to their own ideas. In fact, although in its present form it was written many years after the death of the saint, it seems to have its roots in the first, glowing reminiscences of those who had been his most intimate friends. Compared with this, Celano's narrative seems heavy and lifeless. The humble, little, poor man of Assisi has become the great saint at whose shrine kings and popes would worship. This was exactly what Elias and Ugolino wanted. The magnificent church at Assisi was designed to emphasise the sanctity of Francis Bernardone; the Official Life must obviously do the same. By the October of 1230, four

[1] The whole argument for this will be found in my *Sources for the Life of S. Francis*, pp. 68-76.

years after Francis' death, a shrine had been built and a suitable Life had been written. Francis' place among the immortals was well assured.

I want now to show how the memory of S. Francis was being preserved in art. But first I must say a word about early painting. In 1897 a little book was published called "*The Authentic Portraiture of S. Francis of Assisi*". We know, from a description by Thomas of Celano, pretty well what S. Francis looked like; and with this in mind the author of this book set out to find a true likeness of the saint among early paintings. His task seems to me to have been a hopeless one. Portrait-painting as we know it was an art which was not understood in the thirteenth century. Like much modern painting early art was deeply symbolic. A man was painted not as he actually looked but in order to represent some ideal or some aspect of his character. In early paintings Francis is austere, hieratic, conventional. The cheeks are hollow, the eyes sunken, the face marred by mortification and discipline, while the expression is indescribably stern. Gradually, however, the idea of S. Francis changed to the seraphic father, so that by the time of Giotto we get the picture of the kindly old gentleman with a grey beard. Neither of these types makes any attempt to reproduce the actual physical appearance of S. Francis, but each is symbolic of something in his character which the artist was anxious to express.

The same thing applies to the backgrounds of the pictures. When Giotto depicted the incident of Francis renouncing the world he painted the most fantastic houses which bore no resemblance whatever to the grey streets of Assisi. The reason for this is that the houses represent the world upon which Francis was turning his back, the world of luxury and gaiety, of wealth and comfort and splendour. Many old houses in Assisi are built with outside staircases, but they are made of simple blocks of stone. In this fresco there is a house with an outside staircase of white marble which would have done credit to the Cosmati. Or again, early paintings of La Verna nearly always include at least part of a large and handsome church. But La Verna in S. Francis' time was a rocky and desolate mountain top. Why

then the church? Clearly because La Verna was regarded as a holy place, and the only way in which the artists could represent this was by adding a church.

But we must return to our point: which was to see how the legend of S. Francis began to be expressed in art. The earliest painting of the saint is a full-length figure on the walls of the Sacro Speco at Subiaco. It is almost certain that this was painted in 1228, two years after the death of S. Francis and nearly seventy years before Giotto began his work in the Upper Church. This is a most interesting picture. The first thing which strikes one is the extreme naturalness of it. It is the portrait not of some great saint, but of a simple friar. Francis is portrayed in the habit of the Order with the hood drawn over his head. In his left hand he holds a scroll on which are inscribed the words "*Pax huic domui*", the greeting which he taught his disciples to use. But the most interesting point about this picture is that there is no halo and no sign of the stigmata, while at the top stand the words 'FR. FRĀCISCV', i.e. *Frater Franciscus* not *Sanctus*.[1] Some have thought that these exceptional details prove that the picture was painted during Francis' lifetime and before the reception of the stigmata in 1224. But the external evidence strongly supports the date 1228.

Somewhat similar in style and feeling is a strange painting at Greccio showing S. Francis in profile, weeping.[2] There is a tradition that this was painted by the saint's Roman friend, the lady Giacomina de' Settesoli, who brought him marzipan on his death-bed; but there is no real authority for this. Yet this portrait gives every appearance of belonging to a very early date, perhaps within a few years of the painting at Subiaco.

Yet another very early sketch of S. Francis is to be found in a manuscript in the Cambridge University Library. The book is a collection of excerpts from the works of Alexander Neckam and dates from the early part of the thirteenth century. Into it has been inserted a leaf which has nothing whatever to do with

[1] There is a good reproduction in the English translation of Jörgensen's *St. Francis of Assisi* (1912), p. 62.

[2] Reproduced as the frontispiece to Canon Rawnsley's edition of the *Sacrum Commercium: the Converse of Francis and his Sons with Holy Poverty*, Temple Classics, 1904.

the remainder of the work. On one side of this folio is a drawing of S. Francis and a companion. The saint, as in the portrait at Subiaco, is hooded, tonsured and bearded but is adorned with no halo. His hands and feet show the marks of the stigmata, and he carries a book.[1]

All these three portraits have a certain affinity which becomes most obvious when we compare them with later works. In each, Francis is the humble, little, poor man of God. No attempt is made to represent him as a great saint or a notable ascetic. Each artist has been content to portray a simple friar such as anyone might have met on the roads of almost any European country at that time. In fact these three pictures all belong to the very early days before Elias and his party had got to work on the cult of the saint. There was as yet no shrine and no official life ; men were content to think of S. Francis as they had known him, in his simplicity and humility.

A few years later the official attitude to the memory of S. Francis had changed a good deal. Whereas the emphasis had, at first, been upon his poverty and humility, it was now rapidly being transferred to his asceticism and to his power of working miracles. Celano had written of the mortification which the early friars imposed upon themselves, for this was what men expected of an obvious saint. He had also devoted many pages of his book to a whole catalogue of miracles of healing, which also formed an indispensable attribute of any true saint. All this had been emphasised in the *Vita Prima* and was quite in accord with what Elias and Ugolino desired. Moreover, it soon began to find expression in art.

I have said that by 1230 Francis' place among the immortals was well assured, partly by the building of the great basilica at Assisi, partly by the appearance of Celano's work. Five years later Bonaventura Berlinghieri painted a portrait of S. Francis which is now at Pescia, near Lucca. This is typical of a number of paintings of the saint from about this period and is of special interest in that, besides the figure of the saint himself, certain

[1] Reproduced in *Franciscan History and Legend in English Medieval Art*, edited by A. G. Little for the British Society of Franciscan Studies, chapter iv, plate 7.

scenes from his life are also depicted. Francis stands in the centre, tall, ascetic, indescribably austere and forbidding. At once we feel that we are introduced to a figure totally different from the simple friar of the early sketches, and a figure which repels rather than attracts.[1] On each side are portrayed three scenes from the saint's life. Here again the choice of subjects shows that the artist was of the same school as Elias and Ugolino. Out of all the dramatic incidents in the *Vita Prima* which he might have selected, he chose, for his six scenes, S. Francis receiving the stigmata, the sermon to the birds, and no less than four miracles of healing which might have come out of any standard work of hagiography. Thus, except for the story of Francis preaching to the birds (which seems to have caught and held the popular imagination from earliest times to the present day), the artist has confined himeslf to a portrayal of the miraculous rather than of the dramatic in the life of the saint.

Probably in the following year, 1236, Giunta Pisano, who had been employed by Elias to decorate the Lower Church at Assisi, painted a panel similar to that of Berlinghieri. The saint in the centre is rather more human than the conventional figure of the previous work; but the drawn face, sunken eyes and hollow cheeks emphasise the ascetic element in his character. To left and right of this central figure are four scenes; but whereas Berlinghieri had included at least one incident which would appeal to those who reverenced the humanity of the saint, Giunta Pisano confines himself entirely to miracle stories, the same four which are painted in the earlier work.

Thus during this decade of the 1230's it is pretty clear that men were being taught to think of S. Francis as a wonder-worker and an ascetic. Celano had partly helped to create this impression, and the artists emphasised it even further. It suited Elias and the men in power, for this was exactly what they intended. It might be true that, as Gregory the Great had said, "miracles do not make holiness but only show it"; but at least it was necessary that every true saint should shine forth as a worker of

[1] There is a reproduction in the volume of essays, edited by Walter Seton in 1926, entitled *S. Francis: Essays in Commemoration*, p. 8.

miracles. The art and literature of this period did their best to show that Francis was worthy to be numbered with the saints.

About the year 1240 a distinct change came over the Order of S. Francis. In 1239 Elias, who had returned to power in 1232, was deposed, partly on the grounds that he had not been faithful to the vows of poverty, but mainly because the brethren could not endure his autocratic and overbearing manner. The friars were unhappy. The new church at Assisi was no doubt very fine, and Celano had obviously done a good piece of work in writing his Life of S. Francis ; but there was something about S. Francis' character that seemed to be missing. Of course it was grand to think of the miracles which had been wrought both during his life and at his tomb ; but there were other things about him which ought to be commemorated. And the years were slipping by. The number of those who had known him personally was getting less. Soon the opportunity of drawing upon their memories would be lost for ever.

Such was the situation in the 'forties ; and fortunately the friars realised it in time. In 1244, at the General Chapter held at Genoa, an invitation was sent out to all who had known the saint to send in their reminiscences so that out of them a new Life could be written.

In response to this appeal three of S. Francis' most intimate friends—Leo, Angelo and Rufino—met together at the little hermitage of Greccio and determined to send in a collection of stories. For over a year they worked at it—a wonderful year in which they must have felt as if they were back with their master, living again through those amazing adventures of faith under his inspiring leadership. They were not concerned with miracles so much as with the day-to-day events. They wanted to bring out S. Francis' *character* rather than his *powers*—his charity and consideration, his intuition, his courage, his faith, his devotion, his simplicity, his love of God and man. No doubt other friars sent in their reminiscences, but there was nothing to compare with this document of the three friends at Greccio. Where is it now ? Alas, it has vanished ; and we can only try to piece it together out of other and later legends in which parts of it are

embedded. I can imagine few things more thrilling than to hear that the original manuscript of Leo, Angelo and Rufino had been rediscovered; but I fear there is not much hope. The most precious of all Franciscan documents remains a mystery; and we are left with the intriguing puzzle of trying to fit bits of it together from other works.

The task is not so hopeless as might, at first sight, appear. In order to understand ancient methods of biography one must realise that authors were content to copy, often word for word, whole passages from some earlier source without any word of acknowledgment. We are accustomed to this in comparing the work of S. Matthew and S. Luke with that of S. Mark. The same principles may be applied to the Franciscan sources.

As a result of the appeal issued in 1244 a fairly large number of documents, of various lengths and many degrees of importance, was sent in. Once again, Celano was invited to write the official Life of S. Francis; but several other writers had access to his sources and used large portions of them in their works. Much the most important of those who saw the original documents was an unknown writer who appears to have visited Assisi in 1311 and to have been allowed to work in the library of the Sacro Convento and at S. Damiano. Unlike Celano, who had a passion for style, often robbing a narrative of its spontaneity in order to improve its diction, this unknown scribe has probably copied out whole sheets from the documents upon which he was working without altering a single word. His manuscript was for long forgotten, and indeed lost; but it was brought to light by Father Delorme who discovered it at Perugia and published a transcription in 1922. Also of great interest is a manuscript known as S. Isidore No. 1/73 at Rome, which Father Lemmens published in 1901-2, and which contains two little tracts, the *Verba S. Francisci* and the *Intentio Regulae*, both of which appear to have belonged to the Leo-papers, if, indeed, they are not much earlier. Mention should also be made of a fourteenth-century manuscript which Dr. Little acquired in 1910 and printed in the first volume of the *Collectanea Franciscana* in 1914. From these three sources it is possible, by careful verbal comparisons,

to arrive at something which, at any rate, contains much, if not all, of the original writings of Leo, Angelo and Rufino.[1]

Perhaps here I should say a word about that much-disputed document known as the *Speculum Perfectionis*. Sabatier, misled by a scribal error in one of the manuscripts which he studied, maintained that this was the earliest of all Franciscan sources, earlier even than Celano's *Vita Prima*. But here he was clearly wrong. Actually this work was composed in 1318, and, like the Perugian compilation, was very largely based upon the Leo-papers at Assisi. Thus, though Sabatier was wrong in attributing the *Speculum* to the year 1227, he was entirely right in maintaining that it emanated from the circle of Francis' most intimate friends.

Out of the mass of material sent in in response to the appeal of the Chapter General, Celano was again invited to write an official Life of S. Francis. We must imagine him, during the autumn and winter of 1246-47, working through the documents which had been sent in, choosing what he wanted and rejecting what was worthless or trivial or redundant. The whole appearance of this Second Life shows that Celano had a totally different purpose in his mind from what he had had in 1228. Then he had been commissioned by the Pope to produce a book which would put the sanctity of Francis beyond doubt. This time he was invited by the friars themselves to write a book which would help to keep alive the memory of the saint as it remained in the minds of those who had lived with him. Consequently, instead of trying to compile a "life" of S. Francis, he arranges his book under various headings, such as his poverty, his prayers, his preaching, his joy, his humility, his simplicity, and so on, choosing stories to illustrate each aspect of his nature. Like the three friends, Celano was concerned with the *character* of S. Francis rather than with his *powers*. Consequently there is scarcely a single incident which is "miraculous" in the narrower sense of the word. It was only some years later that Celano consented, possibly at the request of those who were

[1] Once again I must refer the reader to my *Sources for the Life of S. Francis* for the full argument and for a conjectural synopsis of the original *Scripta Leonis et Sociorum Eius*.

disappointed in the *Vita Secunda*, to write a *Tractatus de Miraculis*, a collection of the miracle stories which were never included in the *Vita*.

I think it is clear from this that, during the years between the fall of Elias in 1239 and the appointment of Bonaventura as Minister-General in 1255, men's thoughts about S. Francis had changed a good deal. At first they thought of him as the worker of miracles, the object of the kind of reverence and devotion which Elias intended should be his. Against this the friars reacted, feeling that such a portrait of S. Francis was incomplete. They wanted now to know about his everyday life, they wanted to preserve whatever was known of his amazing humility and simplicity. They wanted to think of his renunciation, of his early struggles, of the way in which he won the confidence of the Pope, of his originality.

Now let us examine the art of this same period. We have two paintings, both of which almost certainly belong to these years. One is at Florence, in the Church of Santa Croce, and is planned much on the lines of the earlier portraits.[1] In the centre is the figure of S. Francis, still somewhat conventional and austere, and around him are depicted no less than twenty scenes from his life. When we compare the subjects which this artist has selected with those chosen by Berlinghieri and the painter of the panel at Assisi we see a most striking contrast. Whereas in the earlier paintings the emphasis was upon the miraculous rather than upon the dramatic, in this panel the miracle stories form only a very small part of the whole, being placed at the very end of the series. The artist has, in fact, set out to portray a succession of scenes from the life of S. Francis, designed to illustrate just those characteristics which the friars now wanted to remember. He begins with the incident of Francis being released from prison by his mother, then follows his renunciation before the Bishop of Assisi, his acceptance of an old cloak from one of the Bishop's servants, his attendance at Mass in the little chapel of the Portiuncula when the Gospel for the day gave him his marching orders, his appearance before Innocent III, the

[1] There is a reproduction in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 1926, plate iv.

Christmas crib at Greccio, his sermon to the birds and before the Soldan, his compassionate feeling for some sheep whom he saw among a herd of goats, his rescue of two lambs destined for the slaughterer, his humility in making one of the friars drag him naked through the streets of Assisi, his stigmatisation, his appearance at the Chapter of Arles, his service of the lepers and his death. Only the last five scenes are devoted to miracles performed after his death. Thus, compared with earlier paintings the emphasis has shifted from the miraculous to the dramatic, from the powers of the saint to his personality.

This is brought out even more strikingly in the other painting which may be regarded as belonging to this period. This is at Siena and again follows the design of a central figure surrounded by a number of small scenes.[1] The figure of the saint is unattractive, partly owing to bad restoration, but the scenes are fascinating. There are only eight, but they are all concerned with significant moments in S. Francis' life. First comes his renunciation before the Bishop of Assisi, then his devotions before the crucifix in S. Damiano, then the dream of Innocent III about the fall of the Lateran, then the sermon to the birds. On the other side are painted the vision of the chariot of fire, the stigmata, the Christmas crib at Greccio, and the death of S. Francis. In this series, therefore, the purely miraculous has been excluded altogether.

This brings us to the third period, from about 1260 to the end of the century. The dominating figure during these years is that of Bonaventura. Bonaventura was elected as Minister-General in 1255 at the early age of 36. He was the most remarkable of the second generation of Franciscans. He was only five years old when S. Francis died, but he had been attracted to the Friars Minor by the obvious vitality and freedom of the Order. Bonaventura was by nature a scholar, and his ideal was to unite the discipline and poverty of the friars with the spirit of enquiry which animated the Schools. His spiritual and actual home was Paris and its lecture rooms, not the forests of La Verna or the rocky caves of Fonte Colombo and the Carceri.

[1] Reproduced in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 1926, plate vi.

His ideal was to forge an alliance between Poverty and Learning. It was a very lofty ideal and one which probably safeguarded the future of the Order in the difficult years through which it was passing. But it was not the ideal for which S. Francis had lived and died; and we can understand Brother Giles' complaint: "Paris, Paris thou hast destroyed Assisi!"

The memory of S. Francis was still worrying the friars. Celano's *First Life* was clearly inadequate now that so much new material had come to light; the *Second Life* was more a character study than a biography. Moreover, the Order was at the time becoming more and more divided over the distracting problem of how far the intentions of S. Francis were to be rigidly observed. There were by now two definite parties—the "conventuals" who favoured relaxation, and the "spirituals" who wanted to return to the uncompromising standards of the early days. Some of the incidents in the life of S. Francis and some of the things which he had said were causing such controversy and distress that it was clear that a new Life ought to be written which would supersede all others. By this means the more embarrassing moments in the earlier legends would be forgotten and peace might be restored. The Chapter General of 1260 asked Bonaventura to undertake this responsible task. He accepted their invitation and published his *Legenda Maior* in 1263. In 1266 an order was passed saying that all previous manuscripts were to be destroyed. Fortunately a few escaped destruction, or much of the most precious Franciscan literature would have perished. But the intention was clear. Bonaventura had produced the standard Life of the saint and was henceforth to hold a complete monopoly.

When we examine Bonaventura's work we see how able it is. But we see also how inadequate. Homely little touches are suppressed; Francis becomes less unconventional; strange inexplicable traits in his character are passed over, and incidents which might appear undignified are omitted. The dirty, patched tunic of S. Francis is washed and ironed, and a saint is turned out worthy to take his place in even the most fastidious company. It is a very nice saint whom he produces; but, unfortunately, it is not S. Francis.

The inadequacy of Bonaventura's Life of S. Francis was evident to the "spirituals" who treasured memories of the saint which had been handed down from his closest friends. It was to supplement Bonaventura's official Life that one of the friars, possibly James of Massa, made a collection of fifty stories about S. Francis which are among the most precious which we possess. They form the bulk of that lovely Franciscan treasure-house, the *Fioretti* or *Little Flowers of S. Francis.* The *Fioretti* is an Italian translation, made about 1335, of certain chapters from a collection known as the *Actus Beati Francisci* which is itself clearly based upon two earlier sources. Because of its fourteenth-century date it has been customary to treat the *Fioretti* as largely apocryphal; but since we can trace its parentage back almost to S. Francis' companions themselves it seems to me that it may have much greater historical value than has commonly been supposed. External evidence must necessarily count for a great deal, but internal evidence is by no means insignificant. And the internal evidence of the *Fioretti* points undoubtedly to an early date. The Francis of these stories is the Francis whom we have learnt to love in his own writings and in the earliest legends, and is far removed from the more conventional figure of Bonaventura. The atmosphere, too, is that of the early days when Poverty and Humility were still the absorbing interest of the friars, and when the gaiety and abandon of their great spiritual adventure had not been overshadowed and restrained by organisation and officialdom.

Now let us turn again from literature to art. We saw that, in the reaction from the early, more stereotyped presentations of Francis the wonder-worker, the artists tended to concentrate more and more on the important events of his life rather than on the purely miraculous. This continued to the end of the century. The main difference is that the figure of S. Francis himself changes from the austere ascetic of the primitives to the infinitely more human, sometimes quite fatherly, figure of the Giotto frescoes.

The Upper Church at Assisi was finished about the time of Bonaventura, and the greatest artists of the day were invited to

contribute to the decoration of it. Among these was Cimabue, or whoever painted the lovely things that go by his name. Cimabue made no attempt to illustrate the life of S. Francis, but he has given us a portrait of the saint which brings out all the humility and tender simplicity which previous works, with the exception of the very earliest paintings, seem to lack. A few years later Giotto and his pupils set to work to adorn the great nave of the Upper Church of S. Francis with twenty-eight scenes from the life of the Poverello. " In Giotto's frescoes at Assisi ", wrote Roger Fry, the Franciscan legend " acquired for the first time a treatment in which the desire for actuality was fully recognised. But actuality alone would not have satisfied Giotto's patrons ; it was necessary that the events should be presented as scenes of everyday life, but it was also necessary that they should possess that quality of universal and eternal significance which distinguishes a myth from a mere historical event. It was even more necessary that they should be heroic than that they should be actual." Although I should be inclined to question Roger Fry's insistence that Giotto was doing something new (especially in view of the scenes in the Siena panel), yet there had, of course, been nothing to compare with this *tour-de-force* in the Upper Church.

Giotto took as his source the *Legenda Maior* of Bonaventura and it is clear that he kept closely to his text. Like his immediate predecessors he chose not the miracles of healing but the dramatic and significant events from the saint's life. Yet many of them are charged with an air of mystery. The first of the series depicts the story of the simpleton in Assisi who spread his cloak before the young Francis when he met him in the street as if he foresaw his future greatness ; several of the subjects are concerned with dreams and visions ; one shows S. Francis' prophetic powers, and one is miraculous—the spring of water which appeared in order to satisfy the thirsty peasant. At the same time Giotto has ignored altogether the accounts of miracles of healing, most of them performed at the tomb of S. Francis, which were so much sought after by earlier painters.

A few years later Giotto painted another series in S. Croce at Florence. A comparison of these with the frescoes at Assisi

is most interesting. The saint appears throughout as a much younger man ; and there is a grace and simplicity and an air of care-free abandonment to the divine will and purpose which the paintings at Assisi lack. I cannot help feeling that, between the year 1296, when he was planning the series at Assisi, and about 1320, when he set out to paint his frescoes at S. Croce, Giotto had learnt something about S. Francis which he did not find in the pages of Bonaventura. Might he perhaps have come across either the collection of stories which forms the main source of the *Fioretti* or the writings of Brother Leo ?

Besides these two series of frescoes designed to illustrate the life of S. Francis, Giotto also attempted a totally different kind of picture which might be called " allegorical ". Such a treatment of the Franciscan story began as early as 1227, the year after the saint's death, in the writing of a little imaginative work known as the *Sacrum Commercium*, or *Holy Converse of the Blessed Francis with Lady Poverty*. This is a document of remarkable charm telling how Francis sought out the poor, despised and hated Lady Poverty and made her his bride. Towards the year 1300 this work appears to have inspired not only the greatest painter of the day but also the greatest poet, Dante.

Immediately over the high altar in the Lower Church at Assisi Giotto painted four frescoes, three being allegories of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience, and the fourth representing the glorification of S. Francis. The allegory of Poverty is the most important for our purpose. In the centre we see S. Francis and Lady Poverty, the latter barefooted, clothed in rags, and standing among thorns. Behind them stands Christ, who is joining their hands together in matrimony while Francis places a ring on the bride's finger. To right and left of this trio are groups of saints and angels ; and in each case the figure nearest the foreground is turning to observe some incident which forms an important part of the allegory. In the left-hand corner the artist has painted a youth offering his cloak to a beggar, thus symbolising renunciation, the first step towards poverty. In the opposite corner stands a group of three men, one of whom clutches a bag of gold, while another carries a hawk on his wrist. These clearly signify wealth and pleasure, the very opposites of

poverty. Meanwhile, in the middle foreground, immediately under the central figures, are two boys, one of whom is throwing stones at Lady Poverty, while the other appears to be thrusting the thorns against her naked feet. Thus is depicted the world's contempt for the poor. At the head of the picture are two flying angels, one of whom bears the cloak which the young man has given to the beggar, and the other a noble mansion, both of which are being offered to God whose hands are just visible in the clouds.

The other work which has much in common with the *Sacrum Commercium* is the *Paradiso*. That Dante had actually read the allegory I should think unlikely, for it does not appear to have had a very wide circulation during the thirteenth century. But there is certainly an affinity between the eleventh canto of the *Paradiso* and the symbolism of the *Sacrum Commercium*, an affinity which extends, beyond the general theme of Francis' search for Poverty and their subsequent espousal, to a number of ideas which are common to both. Each writer stresses the fact that, after the time of her union with Christ, Poverty, bereft of her husband, remained alone and an outcast, "despised, obscure and with none to welcome her". Each also, in referring to the love which existed between Christ and Lady Poverty, mentions the fact that she, and she alone, mounted the Cross with Him. Compare for instance, the words :

> . . . dove Maria rimase giuso
> ella con Cristo salse in sulla croce
> (She, when Mary remained below, mounted the Cross with Christ)

with Francis' words to Poverty as recorded in the *Sacrum Commercium :*

> Alone thou didst cleave to the King of Glory when all the chosen and beloved of Him fearfully deserted Him . . . and on the cross itself, when His body was bared, His arms stretched out, His hands and His feet pierced, alone with Him thou didst suffer.

It is clear, then, that by the end of the thirteenth century there were two moulds in which men's thoughts about S. Francis were shaping themselves. One was the factual and the other the allegorical. On one side, men were treasuring stories of his life, stories which had circulated among his followers, some of

which were perhaps apocryphal but many of which had been passed down from those who were most intimate with him and nearest to his inmost thoughts. On the other side men loved to dwell on the theme of Francis' search for the Lady Poverty, his wooing of her and her acceptance of his heart and hand. Both themes are represented in the art and literature of the period and each is given prominence in the frescoes of Giotto and in the stanzas of Dante.

Giotto's work was finished before 1330, and for a hundred years little attempt was made, so far as we know, to paint scenes from the life of S. Francis. Taddeo Gaddi, Lorenzetti, Simone Martini and Orcagna all put the saint into their pictures, but none of them attempted to illustrate his career. But just about a century after Giotto a Sienese painter called Sassetta painted an altar-piece consisting of nine panels, each of which depicts a scene from the life of S. Francis. These were until recently scattered; but in 1934 seven of them were acquired by the National Gallery in London. It is to be hoped that the other two will eventually find their way there in order that we may have an opportunity of seeing the polyptich as a whole.

These paintings are extraordinarily charming. They are perfectly natural, full of detail and rich in colour. Yet I cannot quite agree with Bernhard Berenson when he writes: "It is he, Stefano Sassetta, who has left us the most adequate rendering of the Franciscan soul that we possess in the entire range of painting". To my mind the S. Francis of these paintings is just a little "precious". Like the S. Francis of Andrea della Robbia he reminds me of the Franciscan cult of the Edwardian drawing-rooms and little books bound in soft leather. Personally I want my Francis to be a little more rugged, unkempt—yes, to be quite honest, a little more dirty! Thomas of Spalato, who heard him preach in 1222, wrote at the time that "his tunic was dirty, his person unprepossessing, and his face far from handsome", and Brother Masseo is said to have asked Francis: "Why doth all the world come after thee, and why is it that all men long to see thee, and to hear thee, and to obey thee? Thou art not a man comely of form, thou art not of much wisdom, thou art not noble of birth: whence comes it then that it is after

thee that the whole world doth run?" If Francis was really anything like the figure whom Sassetta depicts then Masseo's question could never have been asked.

Sassetta painted this altar-piece in 1437. In 1452 Benozzo Gozzoli executed a series of twelve frescoes in the Church of S. Francis at Montefalco. Again, it is the outstanding events in the saint's life which he chooses; nor does he confine himself to those incidents which Giotto and other artists had already made famous. Benozzo is of peculiar interest to us because he appears either to have been a local man, or to have been in close contact with people who knew of traditions about S. Francis which had not been included in the written records. Visitors to Assisi will most likely have been shown the stable in which S. Francis is said to have been born, his mother having migrated there, upon divine guidance, just before his birth. But there is no mention of this tradition in any of the *legendae*. Where and when it arose I do not know; but Benozzo's first scene is of the birth of S. Francis in a stable. Again, in the seventh of this series of frescoes two scenes are depicted. One is of S. Francis preaching to the birds; the other portrays the saint being offered a mitre, which he refuses to accept. There is no authority for this in the written records; but clearly there was a local tradition that Francis was once offered a bishopric and refused it. One other point which is of interest in these paintings is Benozzo's interest in natural scenery. The background of the fresco which I have just mentioned is an almost photographic reproduction of the view from Montefalco across the plain to Subasio with Assisi on its little spur and Spello lying some way to the south.

I have spoken of these two artists of the Quattrocento because their pictures are becoming well-known and because their contribution to the expression of the Franciscan legend in art is so important. But my main task has been to indicate what people thought about S. Francis during the first century after his death and to show how their ideas were expressed in art and literature.

# THE RIDDLE OF THE TORAH: SUGGESTING A SOLUTION.[1]

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THE word Torah, which in its general sense means teaching, in its special sense and used as a proper noun, is the Hebrew name for the first five books of the Old Testament, the 'five books of Moses', or the Pentateuch to give it its Greek dress and less euphonious name. It is rendered in Greek by ὁ νόμος and in English by 'the Law'. In Talmudic times (say from A.D. 250 to 500) the denotation of Torah was extended to include the whole canon of the Old Testament, for in deriving the doctrine of resurrection from the Torah, Sanhedrin cites verses from Joshua, Psalms, and Isaiah as Torah.[2] We are concerned here with its meaning as the 'five books of Moses', or the 'five-fifths of the Law' as the Jews term them. But Torah to the Jew does not mean the written word only. He has always believed, and the belief is essential to his view of the development of his Law, that from the first there were two forms of Torah existing side by side, which had equal validity, the Written Torah and the Oral Torah,[3] both having been communicated to Moses at Sinai. The famous Tanna'ite legalist Shammai said in response to an inquiring Gentile, who wished to become a proselyte: "We have two Torahs, the Written Torah and the Oral Torah". The Gentile said, "I believe thee as to the Written Torah but not as to the Oral". He offered to be converted on condition that he was taught only the Written Torah. Shammai rebuked him and drove him away.[4] R. Hagai in the name of R. Samuel b. Nahman, said:

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, on the 10th of March, 1943.

[2] 91*b*. Thus Joshua 8: 30 in name of R. Meir: Psalm 84: 5 in name of R. Joshua b. Levi: Isaiah 52: 8 R. Hiyya b. Abba in name of R. Johanan.

[3] תּוֹרָה שֶׁבִּכְתָב and תּוֹרָה שֶׁבְּעַל־פֶּה. [4] Shabbath, 31*a*.

"Some things were communicated by word of mouth and some by writing and we could not know which is the more valuable save that it is said: For the Lord said unto Moses, Write thou these words, for after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel (Ex. 34: 27). This proves that the oral precepts are superior." [1] The Palestinian Talmudists thus interpreted this Exodus passage as indicating that the Oral Law was both prior in time to the Written Law and more valuable. There was a similar belief amongst Babylonian Talmudists. Thus whilst R. Eleazar said that the Torah was mainly written and to a less extent oral, R. Johanan contended that it was mostly oral and to a less extent written.[2] The importance attached to the Oral Law is significant, and I would ask you to bear it particularly in mind in view of an argument that will be laid before you later in this lecture.

There was a tendency, then, strongly evident in Talmudic times, to stress the importance of the Oral Law side by side with the Written Law, and even to exalt it above the Written Law. This tendency persisted and gained strength in later times. It developed to such an extent, indeed, that it could be said of Saadya Gaon (who died in A.D. 942) that it was one of his great merits that he was instrumental in re-directing the interest and attention of his compatriots to the Written Law, since in his time the Written Law was being neglected in favour of the Oral Law. The Jewish scholars of that age delighted more in the discussions and disputations offered in the Talmud. Yet the Talmud itself averred, and later commentators such as Rashi insisted, that the only wealth worth while was the Torah, and ignorance of it was the direst poverty; [3] and the famous R. Meir is quoted as saying: "Whosoever is busied in Torah for its own sake merits many things, and not only so, he is worth the whole world." [4]

However we may look at it, there is a curtain of mystery surrounding the origin of the Torah. It is not easy for us to follow the Torah in history to its far-off beginnings in time,

[1] Pal. Tal. Peah, II, 6, cf. Megillah, IV, 1. [2] Gittin, 60*b*.

[3] Cf. Yebamoth, 92*b*; Qiddushin, 49*b*; and Rashi's comments on those passages. [4] Pereq R. Meir.

for it is very clear that Israel traced its acceptance of Law so far back in the past that it reached the realm of the supernatural. But as we journey up-stream towards the source of the Torah, as we enter the dim shadows which enshroud its beginnings, we find the twin streams of the divine Law, the Written and the Oral, flowing side by side. When we ascend till we can go no farther, they are still there flowing in their separate channels to meet us, that double source of the Torah concerning which Jewish tradition is so strong. It must be expected that the channel of the Written Word would produce a smaller stream, for in a religious polity laws reach the statute book only after careful sifting and mature consideration. Its progress will be slow and fitful since advance is made from one codification to another with considerable intervals of time between, and it may be expected to come to a full stop in a moderate period of time, since the gradual sanctification of what has already been fixed in writing retards increasingly the current and ultimately makes fresh additions and fresh progress impossible. The stream is brought to a dead halt. .

This is not the case with the other stream, that of the Oral Law. No such restrictions impede its course. It is unfettered by the limitations imposed by the statute book. It thrives on the disagreements of the legalists. It allows for differences in the interpretation of the words of the Written Law and for manifold amplifications and extensions. It relates new conditions to the old and devises fresh precepts which may have but a very attenuated hold on the Written Law. It constitutes the dynamic element in the Torah. It is averse to committing itself to writing for its very existence is bound up with its instability and flexibility. The memory, in the early stages at least, is the prime medium in its transmission. Registration of its decisions in writing, in later times at least, is forced on it only when the burden of its accumulations renders this imperative. And when this happens the codification has the same slowing-up effect as can be witnessed in the case of the Written Law. The Oral Law was essentially what the Jews have termed midrash, a Hebrew word meaning either ' investigation ' or the result of investigation, ' comment '. From out of all

the activity which enfolded the Oral Law a process of distillation of legislation by agreement of authorities and by general acceptance after considerable trial of its operation, was continually taking place, and by this means the midrash of Oral Law found its way into the Written Law and became part of accepted and recorded law. Indeed, the Written Law in its earlier stages grew by the slow and intermittent absorption of midrashic elements from the Oral Law.

The Oral Law itself, at a very early stage, broke into two channels, the legalistic interpretation, or midrash halakhah, and the ethical or homiletical interpretation, the midrash haggadah.[1] The individual halakhah was a precept resulting from inquiry into the Law. Haggadah was capable of embracing in its content all knowledge, except of course legalistic, which could be harnessed to the exposition of the Torah. The task set before the Oral Law was, indeed, heavy. It had to supplement the Written Law, and as the Jew had to regulate his life and conduct under all circumstances in accordance with the Law of God, it had perpetually to face fresh problems, and consequently the ramifications of the Oral Law have proved endless. Rabbinic tradition maintained that everything was to be found in the Torah. According to the interpretation of R. Joshua b. Levi, the Bible, the Mishnah, the Talmud and all exegesis, even such new points as a perspicacious student of the Law may learn in the future, were all communicated to Moses on Mount Sinai.[2] A custom which is not proved from the Torah, it was held, is nothing else than the result of an erroneous conclusion.[3] There is the famous saying of R. Ben Bag Bag regarding the Torah: "Turn it over and turn it over again, for all is in it, and in it is thine all".[4]

The canon of the Hebrew Scriptures was certainly completed by the end of the first century of our era. The canon of the prophetic books was completed by about 200 B.C. and the Torah of Moses before the time of Ezra, for Ezra, we are

[1] *Halakhah*, literally a 'going' or 'walking,' means a rule of conduct. *Haggadah*, literally a 'telling' or 'communication', is used to cover all homiletical interpretation, including ethical, historical, legendary, etc., matter.

[2] Pal. Tal. Peah, II, 6.

[3] Cf. Sopherim, 14*b*.

[4] Pirqe Aboth, V, 32 (26).

told, was an 'expert scribe' in the Torah of Moses. Ezra brought the Torah to Jerusalem in 444 B.C. Even the most radical of modern critics allow only for minor alterations and additions after his death. In reality it was almost certainly completed many centuries before his death, as we have tried to show in a previous lecture.[1] It is very probable, then, that long before Ezra's date the infiltration from the Oral Law into the Written Law had of necessity ceased, and the Oral Law was left with no outlet for its legalistic crystallizations, so it continued flowing full flood, expanding to a river of great proportions and broadening its channel. By the first and second centuries of our era attempts were being made by such scholars as R. Akiba and R. Meir to systematize its voluminous matter. But the task was by now impeded. Instinctively it was felt that the writing down of the Oral Law endangered its character and indeed threatened its very existence. Hence there had grown up a legend that there was a prohibition against the writing down of the Oral Law. In various passages of the Talmud recollection is made of such a prohibition. Thus, according to R. Jehudah b. Nahmani: "The words of writing must not be recited orally, and the oral words must not be written down".[2] Strack has pointed out that this conception was a relatively late development.[3] Still, for the Talmudic age it was a burning question. Thus R. Johanan b. Nappaha (third century A.D.) said: "Who writes halakhoth[4] is like one who burns the Torah, and who learns from such is unrewarded".[5] A similar argument against writing down haggadoth was also pressed, but it had less force. What, however, was clearly banned, in the popular imagination at least, was the writing down of the Oral Law for public use. The Written Law had by now assumed its final form and its sacredness was stressed. It was clearly intended that there should be no rival to the sacred written word in the service of the synagogue. It was for this reason that it was forbidden to make

[1] The Priestly Code: *Bul. of J. Rylands Library*, XXVI, 2, 1942.

[2] Gittin, 60*b*. Cf. also Temurah, 14*b*; Sopherim, 16*b*. See J. S. Bloch, *Einblicke in D. Gesch, d. Entsteh. d. talmud. Litt.*, Wien, 1884, p. 2.

[3] H. L. Strack, *Einleit. in d. Talmud*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 10 ff.

[4] Plural of halakhah. [5] Temurah, 14*b*.

use of a written Aramaic translation (Targum) of the Torah in public worship. In the Palestinian Talmud, it is recorded that R. Samuel b. Isaac on one occasion entered a synagogue and saw a sopher reading the Aramaic translation from a book. He admonished him with the words: " It is forbidden to you; for what has been received orally should be transmitted orally and what has been given in writing can only be read from a book ".[1] This hypersensitiveness in regard to the writing down of Targum and of midrash, both halakhah and haggadah, was directed, as we have seen, against the public use of transcripts. It is evident that in the preparation by the officiant for the public service, or for private use and study, the written form was essential, and, as far as evidence goes, there was no great reluctance shown, except perhaps in some quarters, to write down for such purposes the fruits of the Oral Law. Collections of halakhoth were being compiled, and R. Jehudah, known as ha-Nasi', made the famous collection of halakhoth termed the Mishnah—a word that means ' repetition ' or ' second law '. No person, of course, ever composes a law-code; he can only compile it, and R. Jehudah made use in his compilation of similar collections made by his predecessors, notably that of R. Meir, who in turn was a pupil of R. Akiba. The Mishnah became the authoritative code of the period and, like the Torah before it, it became in due course the subject of special study in the great Jewish schools of Palestine and Babylonia. As the result of this intensive study of the Mishnah, the fruits of which were collected into a body of writing known as the Gemara (or ' completion '), there evolved two Talmuds each a combination of the Mishnah and a Gemara. The Babylonian Gemara is about three times as large as the Palestinian, and the Baby-

[1] Megillah, IV, 1. The text has ספר מושט תרגומא (" a *Sopher* handing out (reciting) a translation"). According to Krauss (*Synagogale Altertümer*, Berlin—Wein, 1922, pp. 134, 179) ספר is identical with קורא, one who reads the Torah to the public by profession, i.e. the interpreter or meturgeman. Krauss suggests reading instead of the מושט of the text, פושט a root for which he skilfully finds the meaning to evolve in Pal. Tal. Shabbath, XV, 1; Lam. Rabbah, IV, 20. Accordingly it was not a question of making public use of a written Targum but of ' evolving ' the Targum out of the Scroll of the Law. The interpreter must not look into the Scroll when reciting, as by so doing he might give the impression that the Targum was part of the Torah.

lonian Talmud is the Talmud *par excellence.* It should be mentioned also that the Mishnah was really a selection of the most important halakhoth. There were many hundreds of others left out.

The codification of halakhoth of the Oral Law in the Mishnah was the precursor of other codifications which made their appearance from time to time in Jewish communities in various countries down the ages. But we turn for our purpose to the last important codification which has been made—that of Joseph Karo (1488-1575)—and named the *Shulhan 'Arukh* (or 'set table'). Karo had laboured for the greater part of his life in the study of the Oral Law. He had made a commentary on the *Mishnah Torah* of Maimonides, then taking that famous and highly esteemed codification, the *Turim* of Jacob ben Asher as his basis and model, he laboured to trace the halakhoth through their chain of authorities to their origin, gathering the results together in a great work, the *Beth Joseph.* On this he had spent over twenty years of hard study and an additional twelve years in its revision. It was with the desire to make a students' manual out of his larger work that he decided to compose a digest (the *Shulhan 'Arukh*), giving the decisions in categorical form without the nexus of discussions and authorities.[1] This presentation of halakhoth appealed to the scholars of his day and generation and it became the authoritative code for the Jews of Spain, and when it was revised to include the special halakhoth of the French and German jurists, it became the authoritative code of Jewry and has remained so to the present day.

From our brief consideration of the Mishnah and the *Shulhan 'Arukh,* these two great codifications which mark the beginning and, for the time being at least, the end of the codifications of Oral Law, we learn an important lesson. Both have this distinctive feature in common—and it appears that the success of each is somehow due to it—that they are content to state the laws as categorical decisions. That the Jew is ready to accept, as final and authoritative, precepts presented in this form is testified to by the success of both over other collections, which

[1] This form is commonly known as the Mishnah form.

left the decision open by an appeal to a chain of authorities or by submitting alternative decisions. But, of course, it was not merely that. Both Jehudah ha-Nasi' and Joseph Karo had great reputations for profound learning and for life-long study of Oral Law, and it was recognized that their works rested on the shoulders of distinguished predecessors. They were, in fact, the quintessence of the legalistic wisdom of generations of sages. The *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides had the same categorical form of statement, but it was not accepted in the same way. The *Mishneh Torah* was indeed written with the express purpose of becoming Jewry's authoritative code. Maimonides makes this clear in his introduction to the work. " I call this treatise the *Mishneh Torah* for a man should read first the Written Law, and then he can read this book and he will know the Oral Law, and he does not need any other book." But even the great reputation of Maimonides could not clothe his *Mishneh Torah* with the essential authority, by which alone he could achieve the aim he had in view.

To sum up: if we examine the course of development of Jewish Law where it comes under our observation in the clear light of history, we note that the Written Law has ceased to develop at a relatively early stage and with it have come to an end the infiltrations from the Oral Law. We note also that the Oral Law has a long and spacious development and that when it eventually comes to be written down the current of its progress slows up, but even then never quite ceases. Through the labours of successive generations of Rabbis a large number of legal decisions and interpretations accumulated. Some found general accceptance, others, without sufficient basis of authority, were rejected. In the case of the first of these two classes, a time eventually comes when a precept of Oral Law can be stripped of its supporting chain of authorities and presented as final, taking on the form of Written Law.[1] It was by such distillations from the Oral Law that the Written Law in its earlier stages expanded. In all these expansions of Written and Oral Law it was never thought by the Jewish doctors that

[1] It then appears to become a *ḥōq* (statute). In the first stage it was merely a *mishpaṭ* (judgment).

any new thing was contributed. All that was produced was there from the beginning. They were merely making explicit what was implicit in the Torah. "Turn it over and turn it over again for all is in it."

The Oriental attitude to life is conservative, and there is abundant evidence that such was the Hebrew outlook. As we pass from generation to generation in the long course of history from Bible times to our own (or at least, to fairly recent years) we see a civilization maintained at much the same level—the same occupations, the same processes of manufacture, the same implements, the same customs, the same methods.[1] In Palestine we find (until recently) a land where the stimulus to change had long ceased to operate and a blessed stagnation had resulted in a drowsy changelessness. And within an essentially conservative community, there is no more rigidly conservative element than the religious. The Hebrew Scriptures, from their inception to their formation into a canon, have been controlled by an attitude of mind which has never changed. The same treatment has been meted out to the Scriptures from the first. In so far as there has been evolution it has been an evolution controlled and directed by forces whose character has been unalterably fixed, and whose influence has been insistently operative without change of direction. If we pick up the threads of this evolutionary process in the later stages, we can follow them back up-stream towards the fountain-head with the sure knowledge that we will find the same evolutionary process in operation in the upper reaches of the stream. The Israelites knew how to conserve the essential and the best of the reflections of their sages on God and on man's relationship to Him, as preserved in the Torah, Written and Oral. The treasures of the past were never discarded to make room for the riches of the present. And here I cannot do better than quote the words of Dr. Gaster who wrote of his people: "The tendency is to preserve the older and join on to it the results

[1] This conservatism is stressed by S. Krauss in the Preface to his *Talmudische Archæologie* (Leipzig, 1910). He does not need to make any distinction between the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds in his task, and both link up directly with the Old Testament as far as their archæology is concerned.

of later developments. We do not relinquish the past at the expense of the present, but utilize the present to strengthen the past. The fences round the Law double and treble in course of time but not one of the old fences is given up. We add prayer to prayer in the development of our liturgy, but we do not substitute one for the other." [1] With the strong safeguard of this innate conservatism we see in the traditions of the Hebrews a factor of immense importance, and one that cannot be lightly dismissed. A definite weakness in modern Old Testament criticism is to attempt to explain what has been created and moulded by Oriental minds by means of Western processes of reasoning and on the basis of Western methods of interpretation.

And now to assist us in our task and to point the way to us, we have the firm Hebrew tradition that the Torah from the first was in two forms, written and oral. On the analogy of later developments we are prepared then to find at the fountain-head a nucleus of Written Law to which will be attached some elements of the Oral Law ; for if the Written and the Oral Laws had equal validity from the first, as Jewish tradition so stoutly maintains, the nucleus of the Law, if it is to be a true nucleus, should exhibit elements of both.

We need have no hesitation in deciding where to look for our nucleus of the Torah. Rabbinic tradition is insistent that the Ten Commandments, the Decalogue, formed the foundation on which the Torah rested. According to the Palestinian Talmud, Hananiah, nephew of R. Joshua, said that on the tables of the Law after each commandment the laws derived from it were engraved, and R. Simon b. Lakish introduced in this connection the simile of the sea with a few great waves and a large number of small waves interspersed.[2] This conveys the idea, early held and widely propagated in later Rabbinic circles, that the Ten Commandments served as rubrics for the rest of the 613 commandments of the Torah, which were summarized and arranged accordingly.[3]

[1] *Studies and Texts*, London, 1925-8, I, p. 513. [2] Sheqalim, VI, 1.

[3] Philo, for instance, in a treatise on the special laws (as distinct from the Ten Commandments) strove to arrange almost all the Mosaic laws under the heading of the Ten Commandments.

We have the Decalogue in two forms as given in Exodus 20 : 2-17, and Deuteronomy 5 : 6-21. That the ' Ten Words ' were given originally in shorter form is generally recognized by modern scholarship. It might be said that Jewish belief is disposed to support this, since there is a Rabbinic tradition, to which R. Haninah b. Gamaliel has given voice, that five commandments were written on each table, although according to other sages they were complete on each table.[1] There was a further belief that the laws were so arranged as to correspond on the two tables. Thus the first law stood opposite to the sixth, the second opposite to the seventh, and so on.[2] Only a visualization of the commandments in shorter form would seem to make this possible. The original form of the Ten Words would be simple.

Thou shalt have no other gods before me.
Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image.
Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord, thy God, in vain.
Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.
Honour thy father and thy mother.
Thou shalt not kill.
Thou shalt not commit adultery.
Thou shalt not steal.
Thou shalt not bear false witness (against thy neighbour).
Thou shalt not covet.

That the additional matter which is found in the Decalogue has been added later is made the more probable by the fact that there is variation in respect of it in the two forms of the Decalogue. We could not expect to find differences in the shorter and basic form of the commandments, and there is none. The first three commandments are the same in both Exodus and Deuteronomy. The fourth commandment as given in Deuteronomy adds : " as the Lord, thy God, commanded thee ". It adds also " ox and ass " before " cattle ". It adds further, as reason for the observance of the Sabbath : " that thy manservant and maidservant may rest as well as thou ". It gives, moreover, a different reason for its institution, namely, the commemoration of the bringing out of the people from

[1] See previous note.

[2] *Mekhilta*, Ex. 20 : 16.

Egypt. In the fifth commandment Deuteronomy adds the haggadic comment, " that it may be well with thee ", to the promise of length of days. In the tenth Deuteronomy adds " field " to the list of things not to be coveted. Now these additions, made in both Decalogues, to the primary form of the commandments are our first examples of the incidence of Oral Law on the Written Law, and, interestingly enough, they are part halakhic and part haggadic. A good example of halakhic expansion is seen in the fourth commandment. In its primary form the commandment enjoined that the Sabbath Day should be kept holy. This was interpreted to mean, in one aspect at least, the doing of no work, but no definition was given of work.[1] Attempts to evade the full effect of the commandment by having work done by other members of the household, such as sons or daughters, or slaves, or strangers or beasts of burden, led to a closer definition of its scope, clearly the result of the operation of Oral Law.[2]

Now why was an element of the Oral Law introduced into the Decalogue? Why was it necessary, for instance, to include a definition of the nature of the images man was not to make? Or why the haggadic addition ascribing the reason for the second commandment to God's jealousy and emphasizing the effects of God's displeasure? Or why the list of persons and animals brought under the scope of the Sabbath law and the two different reasons given for its institution, or the list of things not to be coveted as given in the tenth Commandment? These halakhic and haggadic additions detract from the generality of the commandments to which they are attached and by closer definition tend to limit their scope. They could to all seeming have been included equally well in such a piece of legislation as the Book of the Covenant which follows close on the Exodus Decalogue, and embraces, as we shall see, similar expansions of the com-

[1] Only three kinds of labour which come within the Sabbath ban are specified in the Torah: kindling of fire (Ex. 35: 3), the going out of one's place (Ex. 16: 29), and the gathering of faggots (Num. 15: 32-6). The Sopherim later distinguished 39 main classes of work (the אבות מלאכות) with numerous subdivisions.

[2] The wife is not included in the list of the household since she is one with her husband. The twain are one flesh.

mandments. It is, as we have already observed, a tradition, drawn from the account of the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai, that the Law was given in two forms, written and oral, and that both have equal validity. There was even a disposition, sufficiently marked in later times, to give pre-eminence to the Oral Law. If the Decalogue had been restricted to the primary abbreviated form in which it is presumed to have been originally written on the tables of stone, as Written Law with no semblance of Oral Law attaching to it, it would have had, *ipso facto*, a predominance which was clearly not intended. But the elements of the Oral Law preserved in the Decalogue, and forming part of it, affirmed the equal status of the Oral Law with the Written. The twin streams thus set out together from the same fountain-head.

The Decalogue in its general arrangement falls into two divisions. The first five commandments are concerned with man's relationship to God, and the second five with man's relationship to man. In the first pentad there are stressed the exclusion of other gods, the ban on image-making, due reverence for God's name, the observance of the Sabbath day because of its association with God, and the respect due to parents who are agents of God in the creation of their children. In the second pentad are listed the crimes against society—murder, adultery, theft, false witness, covetousness. Of these the last-named seems, on the face of it, the least heinous, and its inclusion with the other major crimes seems rather surprising. But in the East in all places and in all periods of time it is the eye of envy, the 'evil eye', which stirs into operation demonic agencies, which work terrible mischief. The Talmud has frequent reference to it. It is often said there that the tribe of Joseph was immune against the evil eye.[1] The tenth

[1] Thus R. Johanan said: "I come from the stock of Joseph over whom the evil eye has no power". The reason given in the Talmud is that the eye which desired not to enjoy what did not belong to it (Joseph and Potiphar's wife) cannot be influenced by the evil eye (Berakhoth, 20*a*). Belief in the evil eye (עין הרע) comes frequently to the surface in the Talmud. In Baba Metzia (107*b*) it is related how Rab once went to a graveyard, and after operating some charms, said: "Ninety-nine of those buried here have died from the effects of the evil eye and only one from natural causes". It is also said of Simeon b. Gamaliel

commandment, viewed in this light, forbids an offence as grave as any of the others. Since the commandments of the Decalogue were listed by God their violation inevitably involved the extreme penalty.[1]

It is evident that in the first of the two divisions of the Decalogue much that the worshipper should know of his relationship to his God has not been expressed. Neither in the preamble to the Decalogue, nor in the first three commandments is man told how God is to be worshipped. There is a suggestion of it only in the fourth commandment. The means of approach to God are presumably so familiar that it is not deemed necessary to introduce them here, and when reference is made to them later it will be in order to stress their departure from the familiar or to indicate a proper selection from alternatives. For these we have to look to the expansions of those laws which are derived from the Oral Law. Attention has been drawn from time to time to a number of so-called decalogues, which, in addition

in the same tractate that he would not allow his son to be raised from the scholar's place to the teacher's seat, fearing the evil eye (84*b*). Animals and inanimate objects had to be safeguarded for the same reason: see Tosephta Shabbath, IV, 5; Shabbath 67*a*; Baba Metzia 30*a*, 107*a*. The legal position in respect of the evil eye was that damage caused by it was claimable damage (Baba Bathra, 2*b*). It is the bringing into play the power of evil spirits that constitutes the most serious aspect of the evil eye! "Any act or condition that in itself may excite the envy of the spirits is subject to the evil eye: taking a census, or even estimating the size of a crowd, possession of wealth, performing an act which is normally a source of pride or joy, all evoke its pernicious effects. . . . Even animals and plants were subject to the evil eye; a man who admired his neighbour's crop was suspected of casting the evil eye upon it" (J. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, New York, 1939, p. 55). In Baba Bathra (2*b*) it is said that a man is forbidden to stand about in his neighbour's field when the corn in it is in the ear. The explanation given of the prohibition was lest injury be done to it by casting on it the evil eye. It is worth noting, too, that עַיִן (eye) is often joined with מַחְמָד, thus I Ki. 20: 6; Ezek. 24: 16, 21, 25; Lam. 2: 4, and חמד is the verb used in the tenth commandment.

(For many of the Talmud references in this footnote and elsewhere I am indebted to Mr. P. R. Weis.)

[1] The death penalty for the breaking of the Commandments of the Decalogue, in their most rigid interpretation as serious offences, is clearly indicated: thus for the first, Deut. 4: 3; the second, Deut. 4: 23 f.; the third, Lev. 24: 15 f.; the fourth, Ex. 35: 2; the fifth, Lev. 20: 9; the sixth, Lev. 24: 17; the seventh, Lev. 20: 10; the eighth, Ex. 21: 16; the ninth, Deut. 19: 16-21; the tenth, Lev. 20: 27; Ex. 22: 17.

to the Decalogue in its two forms, are found embedded in the Pentateuch. Thus it has been pointed out that in Deuteronomy 27 : 15-26 there is an ethical Decalogue, which has in places echoes of the primary Decalogue, also that there is another in Exodus 34 which, since Wellhausen, has been called the Ritual Decalogue. Traces of others seem to appear in Exodus 22 and 23 and so on. But far from being original and independent Decalogues these should rightfully be regarded as midrashic expansions of the basic Decalogue or of its parts. Thus in these midrashic Decalogues we find that the means of approach of the worshipper to God, which are either assumed or implied in the first two commandments, are here given closer definition and regulation. The altar is introduced, its consecration, its structure, the offerings to be made on it, its use as a place of refuge, followed by the setting forth of the appropriate times to make the offerings and to hold the set feasts. The proclamation of the set feasts may, however, be regarded as a natural expansion of the fourth commandment, the Sabbath law.[1] Such midrashic Decalogues, which may well have had their origin at different shrines before the advent of centralization of worship in Jerusalem, are much on the same footing as the Book of the Covenant to the consideration of which we now turn.

To discover the earliest extensions of the Decalogue we would naturally look to the adjacent context, especially to the vicinity of the Exodus Decalogue, which has suggested itself as the earlier form. Following closely on the Exodus Decalogue we find a small corpus of legislation which is embraced in the portion of text, Exodus 20 : 22 to the end of chapter 23, although some scholars think it ends at verse 19 of that chapter.

[1] This is almost the scheme of Philo. Let me quote from M. Waxman : "Philo tries to arrange systematically almost all Mosaic laws under the heads of the Ten Commandments. For instance (in his work *On the Special Laws*) under the first two Commandments he brings in all the laws connected with the worship of God, such as those concerning priests and sacrifices ; under that of the Sabbath, all laws dealing with the day of rest and all festivities ; under the seventh commandment all laws bearing on marriage and divorce. Under the other three prohibition of murder (Philo changes the order), stealing and lusting, all civil and criminal laws."—*Hist. of Jewish Lit.*, I, p. 95.

This is the legislative section generally known as the Book of the Covenant.[1] It is the view of a number of Old Testament scholars that it does not occupy its rightful place here, and that a more suitable place for it can be found elsewhere. But I think it should be stressed that the more closely one examines the Torah, the more convinced one becomes that there is nothing haphazard in its arrangement. Certain chronological considerations seem to have controlled the general arrangement of the parts within the whole. Into the arrangement of the elements of the parts other considerations appear to have entered. The internal arrangement of the Book of the Covenant has also been the subject of criticism since it would appear to follow no recognizable system. This is undoubtedly so, if we regard the Book of the Covenant as an independent law-code devised for a community of its own. But if it is, as we hope to show, a running midrash to the Decalogue, the case is very different. As a proof that it is a midrash we may draw attention to its use of the particle כִּי. In the halakhic Midrashim, Sifra, Sifre, and Mekhilta, the method of treatment is to quote a Scriptural law and then to state some special case to which the law can be applied. This is the procedure observable also in analogous midrashic expansions in the Pentateuch. After the general law is stated in concise form, it is often followed by sections dealing with special cases, which are introduced by the particle כִּי (here translated 'if').[2] Such sections form the midrash to the general law, which in the case of the Book of the Covenant may be taken from the Decalogue, or from one of these natural extensions to the first three commandments which introduce the altar and the other means for the worship of God, to which we have had occasion to refer. This use of כִּי to mark fresh halakhic sections is characteristic of the Book of the Covenant.

The Book of the Covenant begins with a preamble. In Exodus 20: 22 we read, "And the Lord said unto Moses: thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, Ye yourselves

[1] The Book of the Covenant has been dealt with very fully by J. Morgenstern in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Vols. V (1928) to IX (1932).

[2] The subordinate conditions within the sections are introduced by וְאִם or אִם.

have seen that I have talked with you from heaven". This preamble is not without its significance. What it obviously wishes to convey is that what follows is the result of that talk. In other words what follows is part of the Oral Law. Then after indicating the first commandment it proceeds to amplify this commandment, or it may be rather the second commandment, with a prohibition against the making of gods of silver or gold. Then it turns to the altar—the altar of earth (24*a*) and what is to be offered upon it (24*b*). In the next verses we have the altar of stone and the prohibition of hewn stones in its formation (25), and the approach by steps to the altar (26). In chapter 21: 2-6, we have a midrash [1] to the fourth commandment which provides six days for labour and the seventh for rest for the slave as well as for the master. The midrash to this in v. 2 is to the effect that the slave shall serve six years and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing. Then follow all matters appertaining to his release. If he has married meantime, what of his wife and his children? What happens if he refuses to be released? The vv. 7-11 form a supplement to the foregoing and provide for the case where a man has sold his daughter to be a maidservant. Her position if espoused by her owner or his son, or if supplanted by another wife. In vv. 12-15 we come to the sixth commandment and deal with the case of a man who smites his fellow. There is laid down what happens to the smiter if he causes death. Murder and manslaughter are distinguished and the penalty for smiting father and mother, not necessarily to the extent of causing death. In v. 16 we pass on to expansions of the eighth commandment—the case of a man stealing his fellow. V. 17, the cursing of father or mother, is a midrash to the fifth commandment, or to v. 15 of this chapter. Vv. 18-25 are a midrash to the preceding section, vv. 12-17. They lay down what happens if a man is smitten but does not die (18, 19), when a slave is mortally injured (20), or when a slave is injured, but not mortally, and the case of injury to a pregnant woman. There follows

[1] The term midrash, as used in Jewish circles, means generally comment of a homiletic character—in other words midrash haggadah. I am using the term here in the sense of midrash halakhah.

here the enunciation of the *lex talionis* (22-5). In vv. 26, 27 we see how this law is modified in the case of a slave. Vv. 28-37 deal with injuries caused by or to animals—to wit, oxen. The responsibility of the owner, in the case of death or injury to a free man (28-31), to a slave (32). What happens if a man kills an ox (23-4), or an ox kills another ox (35-6).

Chapter 21 : 37—22 : 14 [1] is a midrash either to 21 : 16 or to the eighth commandment. Thus 21 : 37—22 : 1 deals with the theft of animals, then follow other types of theft—the thief caught in the act of breaking in (2), theft of field produce (4, 5), animals stolen or injured when in the possession of a bailee (9-12), or of a borrower. The small section, vv. 15-16, the seduction of an unmarried woman is a midrash to the seventh commandment. V. 17, 'Thou shalt not suffer a sorceress to live', is a midrash to the tenth commandment, which, as we have tried to show, appears to be directed against evil spirits, called into action by the evil eye. V. 19, the penalty for sacrificing to a strange god, is a midrash to the first commandment. V. 20, the regard to be paid to a stranger because the Israelites were strangers in the land of Egypt, is apparently a midrash to the preamble to the Decalogue, and v. 27, against reviling God or cursing a ruler of the people, is a midrash to the third commandment. Vv. 21-6 provide for the protection of the widowed, the fatherless, and the poor. Extortion in lending money is forbidden. They contain haggadic elements, as, for instance, the reason given for returning before nightfall a garment taken in pledge. In some aspects they may be regarded as a midrash to the ninth commandment.

In chapter 23 : 1-3, which deals with false report and unrighteous witness, we have a midrash to the ninth commandment, and vv. 4, 5, the restoring of an ox that has gone astray, seems to be a midrash haggadah to the tenth commandment, or a midrash halakhah to the seventh. Vv. 6-9, the insistence on even-handed justice, on non-acceptance of bribes, and on no oppression of strangers, may be a midrash to an epilogue to the Decalogue which enjoined under penalty the strict observance of the laws. The so-called Ethical Decalogue concludes on such a note (Deut.

[1] In English version, 22 : 1-15. We follow the Hebrew text.

27 : 36). The section, vv. 10-19, which is concerned with the Sabbatical year and the three great festivals of the Jewish calendar, is a midrash to the fourth commandment. The concluding portion, vv. 20-33, is a haggadic midrash in which it is said that the Lord will appoint an angel to bring the people into the place he has prepared for them. Obedience to him will ensure triumph in the struggle against alien nations, and happiness and prosperity if the gods of these nations are ignored and no covenant is made with them.[1]

We have, then, in the Book of the Covenant a midrash to the Decalogue. All the commandments come within its scope. Its place in the text of the Pentateuch, closely following the Decalogue, as well as the words of its preamble, indicate that it was regarded as amongst the first fruits of the Oral Law. It comes presumably from a very early period and may well be, in conjunction with the Decalogue, the first law code to which Moses' name can be attached.

It is not, of course, possible in this lecture to examine all the legislation of the Torah, but a superficial examination of the Law of Holiness (Leviticus 17-26) shows that it is of the same character as the Book of the Covenant. It, too, has the midrashic כִּי, and is a midrash on intermediate legislation basing ultimately on the Decalogue. The probable process of halakhic development may, however, be indicated. The very first stage is the small number of midrashim included in the Decalogue itself. To these attention has already been drawn in what has preceded. The second stage would seem to be represented by a codification of midrashim on the Decalogue such as we have in the Book of the Covenant. This codification serves as the text for a new set of midrashim, which, by a process of distillation and authoritative acceptance, find their way from the Oral Law into the pages of the Written Law. We must remember that in all this there can be no question of the adulteration or debasement of the Written Law, but rather was it an enrichment since the Oral Law was ever regarded as the equal, and even in some periods of Jewish history as the superior of the Written

[1] The relationship of the Book of the Covenant to the Decalogue is set out in the table supplied as an Addendum.

Law. The existence of a number of midrashic decalogues would seem to indicate that the same process was going on at a number of different religious centres, clearly the sanctuaries, or high places, which were spread over the land prior to the centralization of worship in Jerusalem.

Combined with midrash halakhah there is found, as we might expect, a considerable amount of midrash haggadah. As might be expected also it follows after halakhah, as it is in general a later development. It forms the tail-piece of codes as in the Book of the Covenant. It is the strongest element in the Gemaras of the Talmuds. It is the concluding portion in the midrash elements attached to some commandments in the Decalogue. It need not of course be always the last portion, although it is most likely to be the latest portion, of any midrashic codification. If we regard Hebrew legislation as a development from a nucleus the outer covering may be expected to be haggadic. Deuteronomy, as we believe and have tried to show in previous lectures in this place, is the latest codification of law in the Pentateuch, made at or about the time of the centralization of worship in the newly-created Temple in Jerusalem as the necessary legal complement to the institution of the kingdom when 'all Israel' became one nation. And Deuteronomy consists of a corpus of legislation in a haggadic framework. And that incidentally was the form of the Torah prior to the inclusion of Deuteronomy. The legislation of Exodus and Leviticus is included in a haggadic framework consisting of Genesis and part of Exodus on the one side, and most of Numbers on the other. After Deuteronomy was included the framework of the new whole was probably extended to include the haggadic additions, Joshua and Judges.

We have been discussing the unfolding of Torah by gradual halakhic accretions to the Written Law emanating from the Oral Law. But there is much in the Pentateuch that still calls for explanation. The duplicate narratives in the haggadic framework, especially Genesis, the duplications, often more, of laws, the number of midrashic decalogues, the consequent inconsistencies, even in some cases contradictions, how did they arise? This is a point we can only deal with very briefly as the time at our disposal will not allow of more.

The settlement of the Israelites in Canaan had the effect of dividing the country into religious communes. Each commune might be expected to have at least one sanctuary dedicated to its God. When a contingent of the tribe of Dan migrated northwards their first concern was to secure a priest to minister to them.[1] That the tribes would enter the Promised Land with a basic law-code, to which the name of their great lawgiver was attached, is reasonably certain—else how could they have maintained the tribal bond and ultimately achieved a national unity? We know of the existence of these ancient shrines and their names are familiar to us, Shechem, Shiloh, Gibeon, Nob, Ophrah, Beersheba and many others. This basic legislation would perforce have to be expanded to provide regulation for the new conditions of life. Local application of legislation gave scope for the rapid development of the Oral Law. The expansions of the basic law would vary with the different districts. At each of the sanctuaries there would come appeals for decisions on disputed points of law and conduct, on interpretation of statutes, on new cases uncovered, to all seeming at least, by the scope of a law. That the sanctuary would require an organization to deal with all such matters referred to its officials for decision, seems evident. The chief priest of the sanctuary would be the final authority, but it is not likely that he would deal himself with all references. He would, like Moses, delegate to subordinates. He would have also his consultative body, his *beth dīn*, his elders, his scribes. Decisions formulated to cover special cases would be used to govern other similar cases when they arose. Decisions which were at first tentative would pass by general acceptance into authoritative ruling and afterwards into firm law. Just as we find in later Jewish history the Babylonian and Palestinian schools producing two bodies of supplementary law, the Talmuds, which, because of the geographical separation of the schools, showed distinct features, so each sanctuary would develop its legislation from the basic code in its own way in accord with regional conditions and needs. The Oral Law thus operated regionally, and we can well understand how the duplications, inconsistencies and contradictions had their origin.

[1] Judges 18: 11 ff.

In addition to the administration of law and order in the community, the sanctuary had to provide for the education of its ordinands and possibly for numbers of the laity as well. Each sanctuary would have its school where its ordinands would be taught to read and write the Hebrew language, to study the Law, the liturgy, the ritual, the traditions, the calendar. Language teaching requires texts, and what was more likely to be used than written traditions? The stories of the patriarchs, the hardships of their forefathers in the 'house of bondage', the wanderings in the desert, the giving of the Law, the in-settling in the Promised Land, and so on and so forth, were of never-failing interest and value. But the pupil would be taught other things as well. He would learn of the literatures of other nations. He knew that the Lord was the creator of the world and he would wish to learn how the creation of the world was planned and executed. He would learn geography from a rude map, for maps were in use at earlier times than those of which we speak. The table of nations in Genesis x. may well have been compiled, and the boundaries of the tribes would almost certainly be drawn, with the aid of maps. He would learn also genealogical lists tracing back the national, tribal and family trees to very early times—such genealogical lists, e.g., as form the basis of the Book of Genesis, or more elaborate ones such as are found in the opening chapters of Chronicles. He would wish to learn not only of the early history of the Israelites but of the origins of their laws, the reasons for prohibitions, the origins of festivals, and so on. In all this we can see how midrash haggadah had its rise and early development.

The problem of the Torah is an intriguing problem. Many solutions have been offered in the past and many more will be offered in the future. But no solution can hope to give satisfaction if it fails to take full account of the effect of their religion upon the life, conduct, and thought of the Hebrews, shaping their laws and determining the form and content of their teaching. The selfsame attitude of mind which produced the Torah is found amongst the Jews of to-day. We have every reason to believe that the process of gradual growth and expansion,

so evident in Jewish law, wherever and whenever it comes under observation, will have been maintained in those far-off days of the past from which all overt trace of its presence has been obliterated. Hebrew religious conservatism, than which there is no more steadfast, unwavering and unswerving force, ensures that this will have been so. The steady, unfolding nature of the process by which Jewish law and its 'hedge' expand lead us to infer a nucleus or kernel of legislation on which all is based and from which all proceeds. Hebrew tradition, the researches of modern scholars, and inherent probability, all point to the Decalogue as this nucleus. This legal kernel has proceeded to grow in many directions through expansive additions, the quintessence of juridical deliberations, the results of careful and deliberate sifting, justified by time and by the acceptance of generations of Hebrew worshippers. Who made the early midrashic deductions from the commandments of the Decalogue or the precepts of early codifications will never be known, for their names have not been given. Such deductions do not in general represent the considered opinions of individuals, however pre-eminent. Their claim to authority rested on their acceptance by a chain of legalists even although they have come down to us in Mishnah form as categorical pronouncements. And in arriving at and confirming such decisions Jewish legalists were following a well-defined path. It was indeed so well delimited that rules, originally seven in number, could be made for the interpretation of halakhoth.[1] In the several sanctuaries of the land the discipline inherent in their religious outlook controlled the formulation of precepts and secured a uniformity of treatment. In course of time to promote the centralization of worship the fruits of the sanctuaries were brought together, sifted out, and the Torah in its present form took shape. It is perhaps well to make it clear that I do not dispute the saner and more generally accepted results of modern literary analysis. If anything I provide them with a basis and an explanation.

[1] In the second century of our era the number was enlarged to thirteen. At this time, too, the rules for the interpretation of haggadah were formulated. These were thirty-two in number.

In all these manifold operations we see the Law unfolding like the petals of a flower, with each codification becoming the nucleus of a new midrashic development. If we should illustrate the growth of the Law by the figure of a tree the Decalogue would be the seed, the Book of the Covenant the sapling, the Written Torah would be the trunk, and the Oral Law the wide-spreading branches. The age-long process of growth, slow but majestic, never hasting, never resting, irrevocable, inevitable, still goes on although to the outward eye the great tree exhibits no change. And the Torah will still endure down the centuries carrying its message to Jews the world over,—and through the daughter religions, Christianity and Islam, to more than Jews—for the Torah is living and the Torah is eternal.

## ADDENDUM

TABLE SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE MIDRASHIC DECALOGUES AND THE BOOK OF THE COVENANT TO THE DECALOGUE

| | *Decalogue.* | | | *Ethical Dec.* | *Ritual Dec.* | *Book of Cov.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Commandments | Exodus xx | Deuter. v | Deuter. xxvii | Exodus xxxiv | Exodus xx, 22-xxiii, 30 |
| | Preamble | 2 | 6 | | 5*b*, 6, 7 | xxii, 20-6 |
| I. | God the only God | 3 | 7 | | 14*b* | xx, 23*a*, xxii, 19 |
| II. | Ban on image-worship | 4-6 | 8-10 | 15 | 17 | xx, 23*b*, xxii, 27 |
| III. | Taking God's name in vain | 7 | 11 | | | xxii, 27 |
| | Altar | | | 5, 6*a* | | xx, 24*a*, 25-6 |
| | Offerings | | | 6*b*, 7 | 19, 20, 25, 26 | xx, 24*b*, xxii, 28-30 |
| IV. | Sabbath | 8-11 | 12-15 | | 21 | xxi, 2-11 |
| | Festivals | | | | 18, 22 | xxiii, 10-19 |
| V. | Family | 12 | 16 | 16 | | xxi, 17 |
| VI. | Murder | 13 | 17 | (24), 25 | | xxi, 12-15, (18-25), (28-36) |
| VII | Adultery | 14 | 18 | 20-3 | | xxii, 15-16, 18 |
| VIII | Theft | 15 | 19 | (17) | | xxi, 16, 37-xxii, 14 |
| IX | False witness | 16 | 20 | (19) (18?) | | xxiii, 1-3 |
| X. | Covetousness (Evil eye) | 17 | 21 | | 24*b* | xxii, 17, xxiii, 4-5 |
| | Epilogue | | | 26 | | xxi, 24-5, xxiii, 6-9, 20-33 |

The Decalogue does not tell us how God is to be worshipped or the means to be employed to that end. Altar and offerings are presumably implied as the generally recognized intermediates of worship, but are not mentioned. The Sabbath Day is the only festival included; the great annual festivals are not alluded to. Also in the Decalogue there is no epilogue with its promise of rewards for obedience and penalties for disobedience which is a feature of later codifications as, e.g.: the Book of the Covenant, Ex. xxiii. 20-33; the Code of Holiness, Lev. xxvi: the Code in Deuteronomy, Deut. xxviii.

# THE COUNCIL AND THE CRISIS OF 1233-4.

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IT is possible that the real nature of the constitutional crisis of 1233-4 has been obscured by the modern tendency to see in it primarily the first example of a constitutional opposition to the domination of household officials, fortified by the possession of the small seal.[1] No doubt the concentration of office in the hands of Peter de Rivaux [2] was both striking and unpopular, including, on 15 June 1232, the custody of the small seal for life.[3] As against this is to be placed the fact that the whole theory is based on a distinction between the household and other officials, difficult to sustain at any time before the fifteenth century,[4] almost impossible at the beginning of the thirteenth. There is also the fact that, though the whole episode is very well recorded by two good historians, one of whom, Roger of Wendover, wrote not long after the event, and the other, Matthew Paris, had a keen eye for administrative matters, there is no reference in the chronicles to any such opposition to the household. On the contrary, there is clear and explicit reference to an opposition to the council. And the council, not the household, was, under the circumstances of that period, a much more logical and, almost, inevitable, object of attack on the part of the magnates. Finally, it is to be noted, the most eminent of the officials attacked by the magnates, Peter des Roches, apparently held no position in the household in 1233: he seems to have been nothing more than a member of the council. Hugh Segrave was a justiciar; Robert Passelaw

[1] Tout, *Chapters*, I, 227.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, 216; *Cal. Ch. Rolls*, I, 156; *C.P.R. 1232-47*, p. 7.

[3] *Cal. Ch. Rolls*, I, 157.

[4] Cf. my *Studies*, pp. 230, 231; 'The Chancery', in *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336*, edited by J. F. Willard and W. A. Morris, pp. 162-4.

was in the exchequer [1]—an office of 'state'. Peter de Rivaux, amongst his numerous offices, was treasurer of the exchequer.[2]

All the evidence alike agrees that the crucial question in 1233-4 was the king's council. The magnates refused to serve on a council dominated by Poitevins.[3] A friar, Robert Bacon, told Henry at Oxford, in June 1233, that there would be no peace until the two Peters had been removed from the council.[4] In October 1233 the bishops threatened to excommunicate them.[5] Edmund Rich denounced them in February 1234.[6] In June 1233 the Earls and Barons told Henry that unless the alien counsellors were dismissed, they would call together the common council of the realm and elect a new king.[7] On the other hand, Peter des Roches asserted that the king was entirely free to call whatever foreigners he wished to the defence of the realm and of his crown, and—presumably also—to give him counsel and advice.[8]

The dispute went deeper than simply the question of personnel. Henry not only excluded men like the Bishop of Winchester and the Earl of Chester from his council,[9] and apparently included in it, at one time, only Hubert de Burgh and a few ministers,[10] the *domestici* whom he had already asserted his right to choose, in his letter to Honorius III of 1223;[11] he also, by granting to the leading ministers their offices for

[1] Tout, *Chapters*, I, 220, n. 3. He was Peter de Rivaux's deputy as treasurer of the exchequer.

[2] With regard to his use of the small seal, Professor Tout scrupulously records, "I cannot however find that Peter made any direct effort to impose the authority of the domestic chancery, which he controlled, over the official chancery, presided over by Neville"; *Chapters*, I, 222-3.

[3] Matthew Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, III, 241. [4] *Ibid.*, III, 244.

[5] *Ibid.*, 245. [6] *Ibid.*, 268-9. [7] *Ibid.*, 244, 245.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 241. The fact that this followed the refusal of the magnates to serve on a council dominated by the Poitevins shows that the centre of the dispute was the council, though Peter did not mention the council in his assertion above.

[9] Annals of Dunstable, in *Annal. Mon.* (R.S.), p. 87.

[10] Matthew Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, III, 165, 204, 205, 221, 240. Men like Walter Brackley, removed from office about the same time as Hubert, and at this time Treasurer of the Chamber, *P.R. 1225-1232*, p. 481.

[11] Quoted in my *Studies*, p. 138: that "negotia regni idem rex principaliter cum suorum domesticorum consilio ordinaret".

life,[1] set up a ministerial council that apparently could not be, though in fact Hubert later was, removed. He went even farther than this. He pushed to extreme limits the duties and responsibilities he gave to these advisers. By every tradition, they represented his counsellors on his own personal problems —on the *negotia regis*. The magnates had an undeniable right to give their assent to matters affecting the community at large —the *negotia regni* of the age of Edward I. But Henry chose to settle precisely these momentous problems with his limited council. He had, in fact, told Honorius that it was this very type of business—*negotia regni*—which he proposed to settle 'principally' with the counsel of his *domestici*.[2] As early as 1228 he pointed with pride to the fact that he could dispose of very weighty and difficult matters with their advice.[3] This was the precise charge of the Archbishop of Canterbury: that Henry "omnia regni negotia, per consilium Huberti Justiciarii, aliis spretis magnatibus, desponebat".[4] After the dismissal of Hubert in 1232, exactly the same complaint was levied against Peter des Roches and Peter de Rivaux: "et sic contigit, ut illorum consilio et arbitrio universa regni negotia ordinaret".[5] Thus Henry, pushed by his ideas of prerogative and by the memory of his father's humiliations, tried to solve the new constitutional problem created by the evolution of the council as a definite body with important and definite functions, by asserting an extreme and unwarranted claim on the part of the monarch, a claim certain to evoke bitter opposition.

There can be no doubt whatever that, beneath the surface

[1] Peter of Rivaux made Treasurer of the Chamber for life; Walter Mauclerc made Treasurer for life; Ralph Nevill made Chancellor for life; Hubert de Burg made Justiciar of Ireland for life; see *Cal. Charter Rolls*, I, 156; *ibid.*, p. 165; Miss M. Mills, 'The Reforms of the Exchequer, 1232-42', in *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.* (4th series), X, 111-33; Tout, *Chapters*, I, 214-20. The motive behind Hubert's appointment as Justiciar of Ireland is, however, obscure. Mr. Orpen suggests that it was an attempt to save him from his enemies by leaving a way of retreat open to him; *Ireland under the Normans*, III, 178. Apparently the grant was not effective.

[2] In the letter cited above.

[3] *Royal Letters*, I, 335: "nunquam ita fuimus consilio destituti, quin consilium nostrum ad maiora et difficiliora sufficit (oper)anda et emendanda"; quoted by Baldwin, *King's Council*, pp. 22-3.

[4] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, III, 205.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 240.

of the quarrel between the Earl Marshal and Henry in 1233-4, there was the supremely important question of the council, suddenly introduced into the forefront of constitutional problems by the policy of Henry III. It was not a question of the small seal or the household, though both these may have been involved : it was a question as to what sort of institution should be at the very centre of government and administration, next to the king.

Henry was, in the end, and partly through the death of Richard the Earl Marshal, in Ireland,[1] compelled, for a time, to give way. But he did not suffer complete defeat. The problem of the council was by no means solved. Thus, what Henry conceded, and how he conceded it, is a matter of considerable constitutional importance which should be treated more fully than has hitherto been the case.

The crisis of 1233-4 was finally settled at a great *colloquium* at Gloucester, in which Henry was reconciled to his magnates. So far as we know, neither the small seal nor the household was discussed. The whole reconciliation turned on the council. The council was said to have betrayed the Earl Marshal and caused his death, by letters sent to the magnates of Ireland. The councillors were actually charged with financial irregularity and with using the king's seal evilly and quite unbeknown to the king. Neither charge was, apparently, ever pressed ; and neither charge was satisfactorily substantiated at the colloquy of Gloucester. When Edmund Rich had read out the council's letter of betrayal, Henry confessed that he had once, under compulsion of the councillors, commanded his seal to be affixed to letters which had been presented to him, letters whose contents he did not know. But no attempt was made to point to his seal on the letter of the council, and no assertion was made that the letter which Edmund read was, in fact, the letter Henry had been compelled to seal. The councillors were not even

[1] It is not always made clear that Henry had surrendered to the opposition before Richard's death, though Stubbs (*C.H.*, II, 49) is quite clear on the point. Richard died 16 April ; Peter des Roches was dismissed on 10 April. Richard's death was an added complication in the reconciliation between Henry and the magnates, already arranged. Henry had a clear responsibility for his death. The problem was now, how to throw this responsibility on to the old councillors about to be dismissed. Cf. Tout, *Chapters*, I, 224-5.

accused, at that council, or later, of compelling the king to seal. The whole story of his being compelled is unworthy of belief. It is unlikely even, that Henry had been ignorant of the content of letters against the Earl, sealed with his seal.[1] Why should his ministers keep him in ignorance? He was entirely in agreement with the policy which was being pursued. The whole scene of reconciliation is fairly obvious play-acting, the motive for which, suggested above,[2] is perfectly clear. How much truth there was in the insinuations and charges there made, it is difficult to say. The one thing certain is that it represented the complete, if temporary, defeat of the council, the disgrace of the old councillors and the acceptance by Henry of new councillors acceptable to the magnates.

The councillors' letter, read out by Edmund Rich, is, however, of very real interest, because of the light that it throws on the experiment of a ministerial, expert and responsible council, made by Henry III, the first real illumination since the beginning of Henry's personal rule. The letter is possibly quoted, in part, by Roger of Wendover in describing the attack on the Earl Marshal.[3] At least Roger gives what is almost certainly

[1] Some aspects of the story of Wendover about the plot to destroy the Earl Marshal have been effectively discredited by G. H. Orpen in *Ireland under the Normans*, III, 67-9. He makes it clear, amongst other points, that Henry cannot be acquitted of responsibility for the contents of the documents to which he put his seal. Mr. Orpen also refuses (quite rightly in my opinion) to accept the sincerity of Henry's lamentations on the news of Richard's death. He points out that the king, some time later, called the Earl a 'bloody traitor'. It fell outside the scope of Mr. Orpen's work to examine the reconciliation at Gloucester; but he is so clearly sceptical about the whole of Wendover's story that he probably would have at least doubted the sincerity of the king's attack on his advisers. It does not seem, under the circumstances, as if the term 'play-acting', used below, is too strong. The scene at Gloucester is, from almost any angle, one of the most remarkable in the thirteenth century. Some other aspects of the complicated story behind it have been dealt with by Professor F. M. Powicke in 'The Murder of Henry Clement and the Pirates of Lundy Island', in *History*, XXV, 285-310.

[2] P. 387, n. 1.

[3] Wendover says, in fact, that he quotes, not from the letter of betrayal, by the council, which Henry was compelled to seal, but from a 'charter of betrayal' which was 'also' sent. There were also sent charters 'of confirmation' asked for by the Irish lords—'those councillors frequently conceded to the magnates, by the king's charter, all the rights of the Marshal in Ireland'. Thus it is quite certain that, as we should expect, the magnates got authorization or

*a* letter by the council.[1] It shows the councillors exercising astonishing, but not inexplicable power. It was outrageous of the councillors to state that the king and the kingdom were ruled by their advice,[2] and to undertake that the king would keep his pledge to the Irish lords. On the other hand, the council is conceived, even by these inflated members, as still an advisory body. It had no executive power of its own; it was the king who ruled, though swayed by the council's advice. Moreover, the council had, as we should expect, no seal. When the councillors wished to send a joint communication to Ireland, they did this under all their individual seals. The council was still only advisory, even in this first, rash, experiment of Henry III. It was still the council we should expect to find, in view of the evidence as to its early nature which has been set forth elsewhere.[3]

What was the relationship of the councillors to the privy seal, it is impossible to say. It has been suggested[4] that Peter Rivaux was in charge of the privy seal at this time, and that, therefore, this seal was available for the use of the council, if not in the capacity of seal of the council, at least as replacing the great seal. When the bishops complained in 1234 that " sine sigillo Petri de Revalles vix aliquod negotiam fit in regno ",[5] the seal they referred to, it has been suggested, was the privy seal.[6] This is, accordingly, the seal which they affixed to their

encouragement under the king's seal, in the form of a royal charter. Unless Henry had no control at all over his own seal, he can hardly have been entirely ignorant of all such documents as these.

[1] Most probably Wendover recorded the actual letter read by Edmund Rich. The reason why Wendover did not say that this was the letter Henry had been compelled to seal, as had been suggested by the scene at Gloucester, was perhaps that Henry himself and Edmund had not asserted as much at Gloucester, and because the form of the letter which he quotes (ending in the informal *Valete* never yet found in letters under either great or privy seal) made it very unlikely that the king's seal had, in fact, been affixed to this particular letter, in spite of the plain suggestion made at Gloucester.

[2] Quorum consilio rex et regnum regitur.

[3] In my *Studies*, Chapter III.

[4] Tout, *Chapters*, I, 224-5.

[5] *Chron. Maj.*, III, 271.

[6] Though this is unlikely. It is very difficult to believe that the bishops would describe the king's seal as " sigillum Petri ". Nor would the bishops have been able to conclude, ' whence it seems that they do not really have you

letter, along with their eleven seals. This last is, however, unlikely. No one mentions it. A seal which Wendover and Matthew Paris referred to simply as the seal of the king,[1] and which Henry simply called 'my seal'[2] was, at any period, but particularly at such an early period as this, probably the great seal.[3] In any case, the chancellor was, in all probability, a member of this council just the same as Peter; the great seal was accordingly just as accessible as the privy seal, and much better known to the Irish lords. It was just as much the seal of the council as the privy seal—possibly more.

The real problem behind this letter does not seem to be with which royal seal it was sealed, but whether it was sealed by Henry's seal at all. Wendover, in his narrative, seems to be giving us a rationalizing of the story set up at the colloquy at Gloucester, by the collaboration of Henry and Edmund Rich. But the only letter he quotes, just like Edmund, was a letter from the council. It is hard to escape the conclusion that he invented the eleven seals of the councillors plus the royal seal, on some other letter, out of fidelity to the impression which had already been given at Gloucester, when he compiled his narrative for the year 1234.

The reason why the suggestion of a royal sealing had been made at Gloucester in the first place, it may be suggested, was that everybody knew that the Irish lords must have received some direct authorization from the king, before they would attack the Earl. This is what Wendover makes clear. The letter of

as their king', if Peter had been using the king's seal. The bishops made the situation quite clear. Peter was authorizing the use of the great seal, instead of the king, by his seal *or* his command, that is, by word of mouth or under his seal. The two methods are simple alternatives. The alternatives are simply between verbal or written commands. The written commands or authorizations, therefore, would naturally be under Peter's own seal. The idea of using the privy seal extensively for the purpose of authorizations for the use of the great seal, as well as for direct orders to the king's ministers and others, was not established until some generations later than this.

[1] *Flores Hist.*, III, 72; *Chron. Maj.*, III, 265.

[2] *Flores*, III, 90; *Chron. Maj.*, III, 294.

[3] The fact that the Irish magnates replied "sub sigillo secrete" which seemed of some importance, in this connection, to Professor Tout, does not seem to help us determine what seal, if any, Henry affixed to his council's letter. Probably the Irish lords only had one seal each.

the councillors alone was obviously not enough. The only way in which Henry could evade his own responsibility for the action of the Irish lords was by claiming that his seal had been put on the letters of authorization either unwillingly, or in ignorance. He even tried to maintain both, though he carefully refrained from saying which letters. Apart from this consideration, there was no need for him to make any 'confession' at Gloucester, at all. The real situation, it may be suggested, is that there had been, not one, but many letters sent to Ireland authorizing action against the Earl, and issued, in a perfectly normal and straightforward way, under the great seal. Wendover, in his tortuous narrative, admits as much. The *Annals of Osney*, practically the only source, save Wendover and Matthew Paris, to comment on the episode, talks of Richard's betrayal by certain letters secretly sent to him as if from the lord king (that is, under the king's seal), which letters, nevertheless, did not come from the king's conscience.[1] Wykes talks of Richard's death 'by command of the king'.[2] There can hardly be a doubt that Henry had commanded the attack on Richard under his great seal. Common sense suggests it, in any case. In this case the whole story of the king's seal on the letter of the council loses much of its point.

For what it is worth—and with all reserve—the suggestion may be made that Wendover's narrative actually makes much better sense if the whole passage, 'and although the king was entirely ignorant of the tenor of the letters, they [the councillors] compelled him to affix his seal, to which they also added their own seals, eleven in number, and they sent that cruel writing to Ireland. A charter of this betrayal was also sent to the magnates of Ireland . . . and to other men sworn to the said Marshal, but faithless', is omitted. The obscurities of Wendover's account would then disappear. He would simply tell us that the council 'composed letters of unheard of treachery which contained in part the iniquity which follows'. Then he would quote the letter or letters of the council. After this he would continue, with strict logic, 'When, therefore, the aforesaid magnates of Ireland had heard the tenure of the

[1] *Annales Mon.*, IV, 78. [2] *Ibid.*, IV, 79.

letters '. This logical sequence disappears if the passage about Henry's sealing is inserted. It is just possible—though there is no direct evidence on the subject whatever—that the reference to Henry's sealing was added (perhaps in the light of the clear insinuations at Gloucester) to a narrative, already composed, based on a straightforward story of betrayal by the council. It is curious, at least, that this minor uncertainty should exist, along with other, and major, uncertainties, in Wendover's account.

Apart from this, the other and final problem is, why was this a 'shameful betrayal'?[1] Why was the letter of the councillors, the terms of which Wendover gives, an 'iniquity'?[2] This is very hard to see.[3] After all, as the councillors truthfully stated, the Earl was an outlaw, enemy of the king, engaged in open war. It does not seem to have been improper for Henry to have promised his lands, forfeit to the king, to those who attacked him in the king's name. There is no reason why this should have reduced the colloquy at Gloucester to tears,[4] even before Henry's confession. It is perhaps permissible to suggest that what struck the magnates with horror was the spectacle of the king's council inciting the Irish to attack one of their own order, actively promoting a civil war in the interests of the king and settling the gravest affairs of state without reference to the general body of the magnates and, particularly, without reference to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the church. This illustrated all the dangers of the system Henry had set up and the spirit which the Earl Marshal had been attacking when he died. The shocking thing about the letter was that it showed the Earl to have been defending the right when he was slain; it proved conclusively that he was no mere rebel, but a martyr for the common good. It not only did this but, expertly con-

[1] *Ann. Mon.*, II, 315. [2] Wendover, in *Flores Hist.*, III, 72.

[3] It is very doubtful if the letter even procured the Earl's death. Apart from the question of chronology, which makes this doubtful, it is to be noticed that Matthew Paris, in one of the few changes he made in Wendover's story, modified the assertion of Wendover to the effect that the Poitevins were afraid of the brother and friends of the Earl 'whose death they had procured'. Matthew changed this phrase into 'whose death they *seemed* to have procured'; *Chron. Maj.*, III, 293; *Flores Hist.*, III, 90. [4] *Ibid.*, III, 90.

trived, it directed the wrath of the barons away from Henry and towards his council. But though Henry availed himself of it to the full, he abated none of his original claims. It is true he had, even before the production of the letter, changed his council, appointing Hubert de Burgh, Gilbert Basset and Richard Seward. He dismissed Peter des Roches, Peter Rivaux, Stephen Segrave and Robert Passelaw. He restored complete amity between himself and his magnates, led by Edmund Rich. He admitted his old advisers had been evil. But he did not admit that he had not the right to choose his own advisers, and he said nothing about any future restrictions of their power. In a year or two, the battle over the council—a battle between two rights, the most obstinate of all battles—would inevitably begin all over again. Meanwhile, the problem of the use of the privy seal by the councillors, if it had ever existed, would be entirely forgotten. It seems probable, on the whole, that it had never existed at all.